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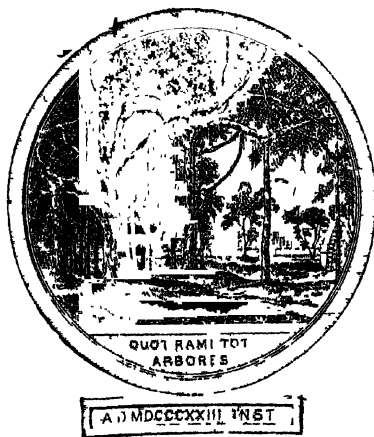
JOURNAL

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

~~OF GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND.~~

January,



1904.

JANUARY 15TH.

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JANUARY, 1904.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

I.

THE DATE OF BUDDHA'S DEATH, AS DETERMINED BY A RECORD OF ASOKA.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

THERE is a certain rock edict of Aśoka, regarding the interpretation and application of which no final result has as yet been arrived at. That this has been the case, is due chiefly to an unfortunate initial mistake, which introduced a supposed word, taken to mean "two and a half," into the reading of a passage of primary importance which mentions a certain period of years. It was subsequently fully admitted that a misreading had been made. But the effect of that misreading remained. And, like similar mistakes in other matters, the initial mistake made here left an influence which neither the scholar who made it, nor subsequent inquirers, could shake off.

Within the limits of space available in this Journal, it is not practicable to handle the edict as fully as could be wished. I hope, however, to be able to shew, with sufficient clearness, what the purport of the record really is, and the extent to which we are indebted to previous inquiries for assistance in arriving at its true meaning.

For some of the readers of this Journal, the chief interest of the matter will probably lie in its bearing on the question,

not yet settled, of the date of the death of Buddha. But it involves also other points of leading interest, in connection with Aśoka.

The edict in question has been found, in somewhat varying versions which illustrate two redactions of it, in Northern India at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt, and in Mysore at Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara. The records at the last three places include also a second edict, which has not yet been found in Northern India. With that, however, we are not here concerned. Of the edict with which we are concerned, the Bairāt, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara versions are so fragmentary as to be of but little use. Of the remaining versions, those at Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri are the best preserved and the most complete. As will be seen, the Brahmagiri record is of extreme importance in more respects than one, in addition to giving us the place, Suvarṇagiri, which I shall identify further on, where Aśoka was in religious retirement when he issued the edict; and it is very fortunate that we have the facsimiles of it, and of the Śiddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara records, published with Dr. Bühler's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iii, 1894-95, pp. 134 to 142, which were made from the excellent inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch, the Government Epigraphist; if we had not those facsimiles, we might still have been without an accurate knowledge of the contents of those records, and perhaps without a recognition of the point which settles one of the important questions decided by the edict. But the Sahasrām record, though considerably damaged, is of extreme value in connection with at any rate one important passage. The matter is decided by the three texts at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Brahmagiri. And it is necessary to consider only them on this occasion. In respect of the Bairāt, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara texts, it is here sufficient to say that they do not contain anything militating, in any way, against the results established by the other three texts.

It is to be premised that the edict is a lecture on the

good results of displaying energy in matters of religion. The whole text of it is more or less of interest. But it is sufficient for present purposes to give two extracts from it.

Before, however, going any further, it must be stated that, in the earliest discussions of the contents of this edict, doubts were expressed as to whether it should be understood as a Buddhist or as a Jain manifesto, and as to whether it was issued by Aśoka or by some other king. But it is not necessary to revert to those questions, except in so far as the varying opinions, as to the sectarian nature of the record, have borne upon some of the proposals made regarding the interpretation of certain words in it. It is quite certain that the edict was issued by Aśoka. And, whatever may be the religion which Aśoka professed originally, it is quite certain that he was converted to Buddhism, and that this edict is a Buddhist proclamation. This is made clear by the so-called Bhabra edict, which, addressed to the *Māgadha Saṅgha* or community of Buddhist monks and nuns of Magadha, speaks, in the most explicit terms, of the respect paid, and the goodwill displayed, by "the king Piyadasi," that is Aśoka as He of Gracious Mien, to "the Buddha, the Faith (*Dharma*), and the Order (*Saṅgha*)."

Nor is it necessary to review certain disquisitions which have been given with a view to bringing the supposed purport of the edict, particularly in the matter of two stages in the religious career of Aśoka, into harmony with the assertions, or supposed assertions, of the Southern tradition as represented by the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*. Those disquisitions were wide of the mark; the tradition and the record having, in reality, no chronological details in common, except in respect of the number of years that elapsed from the death of Buddha to the *abhiśhēka* or anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty. And Dr. Bühler, at a later time, in cancelling the misreading on which he had acted, practically withdrew (see IA, xxii, p. 300) at any rate "one half of the historical deductions,"—though he somewhat inconsiderately did not specify exactly which

half,— which he himself had given at great length (IA, vi, pp. 151 to 154, and vii, pp. 148 to 160) in his original examinations of the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth records.

We are concerned with only the readings and interpretations of certain words in two passages in the edict. And, in giving the texts of those two passages, I of course follow, as closely as possible, the latest published readings of each version of the edict. But I supplement those readings by anything which I myself can gather from those reproductions of the originals which are real facsimiles, or can suggest with confidence in any other way.

It will be convenient to deal first with a passage which stands in the Sahasrām record near the end, and in the other two records at the end, of the edict.

Of this passage, we have the following texts. In all essential details, I adhere exactly to the decipherments of the individual syllables made by Dr. Bühler (IA, xxii, 1893, p. 303, and EI, in, 1894-95, p. 138) and M. Senart (IA, xx, pp. 155, 156, and JA, 1892, i, p. 487). But I differ from those scholars in a detail of analysis in the Rūpnāth record, regarding which reference may be made to also page 13 below. We must not take *sata-vivāsā* as a compound. It must be taken as two separate words. The word *sata*, = *śata*, the base, means 'hundreds, centuries;' just like the nominative plural *satā*, = *śatāni*, of the Sahasrām record. And, in conformity with a common method of expression in Hindū dates, in translating which we have to supply the word 'of' in order to obtain a grammatical rendering, the two words *satā* and *sata* are in apposition, not with only the word *duvē*, 'two,' and the numerical symbol for 200, but with the words and the numerical symbols which mean 256; though, of course, the intended purport is, not 256 centuries, but two centuries and fifty-six years. The texts are:—

Sahasrām, lines 6, 7 :— Iyam [cha savanē (*read sāvanē*)] vivuthēna duvē sa-painnālāti satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6.

Rūpnāth, lines 5, 6 :— Vyuthēnā sāvanē kaṭṭe 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta (*or* ti).

Brahmagiri, line 8:— Iyaṃ cha sāva[ṇḥ] sāv[ā]p[i]tē
vyūthēna 200 50 6.

In the words *iyam cha sāranē, sāvaṇē*, “and this same precept,” of the Sahasrām and Brahmagiri versions, and in the simple *sāranē*, “the precept” or “(this same) precept,” of the Rūpnāth version, reference is made to an earlier passage in the edict, of which the general tenor is:— “And to this same purpose this precept has been inculcated: Let both the lowly, and those who are exalted, exert themselves!”¹ because, as the preceding context explains, even a lowly man, who exerts himself, may attain heaven, high though it is.

The passage with which we are dealing says, in the Rūpnāth version that that precept was made or composed, and in the Brahmagiri version that it was caused to be heard, announced, preached, or inculcated, by someone who is mentioned in the Rūpnāth version by the word *vyūtha*, and in the Brahmagiri version by the word *ryūtha*. In the Sahasrām version, there is a reference of evidently the same kind to the precept, and to the person, who is mentioned therein by the word *viyūtha*; but the word meaning ‘made, composed,’ or ‘inculcated,’ was omitted, and has to be understood. And with these statements there are connected, in the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri versions some numerical symbols, and in the Sahasrām version both numerical symbols and words, which mean ‘two hundred and fifty-six.’²

Of this passage there have been two main lines of interpretation, each with its separate branches.

Dr. Bühler, who first brought the contents of the edict to public notice, in 1877, maintained, from first to last, that the words and numerical symbols are a date, and that the passage means that the edict was promulgated when 256 complete years had elapsed, and in the course of the 257th

¹ It has not always been recognised that this precept is complete as given in translation above. But, that that is distinctly marked by the word *ti*, = *iti*, which stands in four of the versions in which the passage is extant, has been pointed out by Dr. Bühler in EI, iii, p. 142, 8.

² We need not trouble ourselves on this occasion with the exact analysis and disposal of the word *sa-paṇṇālāti*, ‘fifty-six.’

year, after the death of Buddha. Originally (IA, vi, pp. 150, 159 b), while deriving the *vivāsa* of the Rūpnāth record from *vivas*, 'to change an abode, depart from; to abide, dwell, live; to pass, spend (time),' he connected the *vivutha* of the Sahasrām record, and the *vyutha* of the Rūpnāth record, with *vivrit*,* 'to turn round, revolve; to turn away, depart; to go down, set (as the sun).' Subsequently (IA, vii, p. 145 b), he accepted the correct derivation, pointed out by Professor Pischel (see page 20 below), of also *vivutha* and *vyutha* from *vivas*. But he was still able to retain for *vivuthēna* and *vyuthēnā*, and to adopt for the *vyūthēna* of the Brahmagiri record, his original rendering "by the Departed," in the figurative sense of "the Deceased," as an appellation of Buddha. In the Sahasrām record, he took *vivuthā* as the Pāli nominative plural neuter, equivalent originally to *vicittāni* but subsequently to *vyushitāni*, 'passed.' In the Rūpnāth record, he read *sata-vivāsā* as a compound, and took it as an ablative dependent upon the number 256. Finding in *sata* a substitute for the Pāli *satthu*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *śāstri*, which does occur freely as an appellation of Buddha as "the Teacher,"¹ he took *sata-vivāsā* as equivalent to *satthu-vivāsā*, *śāstri-vivāsāt*; and he rendered it as meaning "since the departure," in the figurative sense of the death, "of the Teacher," that is of Buddha. And thus he arrived at the following translations:—

Sahasrām:— "And this sermon (*is*) by the *Departed*. "Two hundred (*years*) exceeded by fifty - six, 256, have "passed since" (IA, vi, 1877, p. 156 b).

Rūpnāth:— "This sermon has been preached by the "Departed. 256 (*years have elapsed*) since the departure of "the Teacher" (IA, vi, 1877, p. 157 a).

Brahmagiri:— "And this sermon has been preached by "the Departed, 256 (*years ago*)" (EI, iii, 1894-95, p. 141).

¹ For instance, in the *Suttantapāṭa*, verse 31, "be thou our Teacher, O great Sage!", verse 545, "thou art Buddha, thou art the Teacher" (ed. Fausbøll, pp. 5, 98), and in the *Dīpavamsa*, 1, 17, 35: 2, 20 (ed. Oldenberg, pp. 14, 16, 22), and in the *Mahāvamsa* (Turnour, p. 3, line 12, p. 4, line 13, p. 7, line 6).

In agreement with Dr. Bühler there was, in the first place, General Sir Alexander Cunningham. He did not attempt any independent examination of the difficult expressions in the edict. But he had detected and deciphered, before anyone else, the numerical symbols in the Sahasrām record (*Inscr. of Aśoka*, 1877, p. 2, No. 8).¹ And he, also, recognised in them a date, reckoned from the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha.

In his interpretation and application of the passage, Dr. Bühler had the full support of Professor Max Muller, who in 1881 wrote:—“After carefully weighing the “objections raised by Mr. Rhys Davids and Professor “Pischel against Dr. Bühler’s arguments, I cannot think “that they have shaken Dr. Buhler’s position. I fully “admit the difficulties in the phraseology of these inscriptions: but I ask, Who could have written these inscriptions, “if not Aśōka? And how, if written by Aśōka, can the “date which they contain mean anything but 256 years “after Buddha’s Nirvāṇa?” (Sacred Books of the East,

¹ I would like to suggest to certain European scholars that, instead of citing Sir A. Cunningham’s volume on the records of Aśōka, and my own volume on the records of the Early (or Imperial) Gupta Kings and their Successors, as “CII, vol. i,” and “CII, vol. iii,” meaning thereby vols. i, and iii, of the “Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,”—a method of referring to them which does not indicate much, if anything, of value,—it would be more useful to cite them, by distinctive titles, as *Inscriptions of Aśōka* (or *Aśōka Inscriptions*) and *Gupta Inscriptions*, or as *Inscr. of Aśōka* (or *Aśōka Inscr.*) and *Gupta Inscr.*, or, if an absolute abbreviation is desired, as “C AI,” and “F.GI.” These two works are the first and third volumes, nominally, of a series which has never gone any further, and, it is feared, is not likely to do so. And it has been a matter for regret that they were ever numbered as volumes of such a series. Even the intended second volume of that inchoate series has never appeared, though, it is believed, the preparation of it had been undertaken by someone before the time when the preparation of the volume on the Gupta Inscriptions devolved upon me as Epigraphist to the Government of India, 1883 to 1886. It was contemplated that that second volume should contain the “Inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians, and of the Satraps of Sarashtra” (see *Inscr. of Aśōka*, Preface, p. 1). It was understood by me that all the materials for it, then known, had been collected; and, in fact, most of the intended Plates seem to have been actually printed off (see JRAS, 1894, p. 175). And consequently, having plenty of travelling and other work to do in connection with my own volume when I was in Northern India, I did not lay myself out to obtain fresh ink-impressions and estampages of the records of the other series, though I did secure a few such materials, in the cases both of them and of the Aśōka records, as opportunity served. I have often, since then, regretted the omission; especially because a few of the materials then extant do not now exist, except at the bottom of the sea, in the wreck of the P. and O. steamship “Indus,” on the north-east coast of Ceylon (see *ibid.*).

vol. x, 1881, *Dhammapada*, Introd. p. 41, and second edition, 1898, Introd. p. 49).

And more recently he received the full support of Professor Kern, who in 1896 wrote:— "We believe also "that the figures 256, notwithstanding all objections, are "really intended as a date of the Lord's Parinirvāṇa" (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 115).

And he received also partial support from Professor Rhys Davids (*Academy*, 14th July, 1877, p. 37, and *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, 1877, p. 57 ff.; see also page 14 below), and from Professor Pischel (*Academy*, 11th August, 1877, p. 145; see also pages 18, 20, below), and from M. Boyer (JA, 1898, ii, p. 486; see also page 15 below).

The other main line of interpretation starts from the point that the passage does not present any word meaning 'years;' and for the most part it takes both the words *vivuthā* and *virāsā* as nominatives plural, in apposition with the number 256. The separate branches of this line of interpretation have been as follows:—

Professor H. Oldenberg, on the possibility of *vivutha*, *vyutha*, and *virāsa*, being derived from the root *vas*, 'to shine, become bright' (class 6, *uchchhati*), with the prefix *vi*, thought that the passage might perhaps mean:— "This is the teaching "of him who is there illumined; 256 beings have appeared "in the world illumined." But he was more disposed to take the second part of the passage as meaning "256 beings "have departed (into the realm of liberation, into Nirvāṇa)," and as indicating that that number of Buddhas had, up to then, appeared in the course of world-periods. And so he rendered the whole passage (somewhat freely in respect of its second part) as probably meaning:— "This teaching was "preached by the Departed; the number of the Departed, "who have taught on earth, is 256" (ZDMG, xxxv, 1881, p. 475).¹

¹ Being not acquainted with German, for my knowledge of the exact purport of this article by Professor H. Oldenberg, referred to again further on in connection with the other extract with which we have to deal, I am indebted to Mr. Thomas, who has very kindly supplied me with a translation of it.

M. Senart, by whom this line of interpretation has been most prominently represented, and who arrived at his conclusions independently of Professor Oldenberg, took a somewhat different view. His process (*Inscr. de Piya.*, ii, 1886, pp. 182–189, and *IA*, xx, 1891, pp. 160–162) may be epitomised thus. He took the verb *vivas* in its ordinary meaning of ‘to be absent, to depart from one’s home or country.’ From that he deduced for *viṇṭha*, *vyṇṭha*, and *vyūṭha*, the meaning of ‘a messenger.’ With the idea thus obtained, he compared the missionaries who in the time of Aśoka, according to the *Mahāvamsa* (Turnour, p. 71, Wijesinha, p. 46, and see *Dīpavamsa*, Oldenberg, p. 159), the Thēra Moggaliputta sent out to various countries to propagate the religion of Buddha. And he thus arrived at the meaning of ‘messenger, missionary,’ as denoting the persons who were charged by Aśoka with the duty of putting the edict in circulation and spreading it abroad. Like Dr. Bühler, he read the *sata-vivāsā* of the Rūpnāth version as a compound. But, like Professor Pischel and Professor Oldenberg, he took the *sata* of this compound, and the *satā* of the Sahasrām version, as representing respectively the base and the nominative plural of *sattva*, in the sense of ‘a living being, a man.’ He took the *vivāsā* of *sata-vivāsā* of the Rūpnāth version, and the *virūṭhā* of the Sahasrām version, not as ablatives singular, but as nominatives plural. And he thus arrived at translations which may be rendered as follows :—

Sahasrām :— “It is by the missionary that this teaching (*is spread abroad*). Two hundred and fifty-six men have “gone forth on missions” (*Inscr. de Piya.*, ii, 1886, p. 196, and *IA*, xx, 1891, p. 165).

Rūpnāth :— “It is through the missionary that my “teaching is spread abroad. There have been 256 settings “out of missionaries” (*Inscr. de Piya.*, ii, 1886, p. 196, and *IA*, xx, 1891, p. 165).

Brahmagiri :— “This teaching is promulgated by the “missionary. 256” (*JA*, 1892, i, p. 488).

Mr. Rice, in bringing to notice the Mysore records, sought

to open out a new branch of this line of interpretation, by rendering the passage in the Brahmagiri record as meaning:— “And this exhortation has been delivered by “the *vyūtha* (or ? society) 256 times” (Report dated February, 1892, p. 5). If that were really the meaning, we could only have wound up the inquiry by commiserating the individual, or the society, for having had to reiterate so often the same so short address. But we need not refer to that proposal again. As has already been pointed out by M. Senart (JA, 1892, i, p. 485), Mr. Rice's rendering was based upon nothing but the pure mistake of taking, as representing the Sanskrit suffix *śas*, ‘such and such a number of times,’ the *sē* of the words *sē hēvañ*, “even thus,” which introduce the second edict in the Mysore records. And the rendering has been judiciously abandoned by Mr. Rice in handling the record again on a recent occasion, when he has presented the passage as meaning:— “And this exhortation was delivered “by the *Vyūtha* (or the Departed) 256 (? years ago);” to which he has attached footnotes to the effect that “the Departed” means Buddha, and, in respect of the number 256, that “no one has succeeded in discovering exactly what “these figures refer to” (*Ep. Carn.*, xi, 1903, translations p. 93).

And, finally, M. Sylvain Lévi took up the matter from another point of view in the JA, 1896, i, pp. 460–474. In the first place, he took certain words which stand at the end of the second edict of the Brahmagiri record, not as being *Paḍēna likhitāñ lipikarēṇa*, and as meaning, according to Dr. Bühler's rendering, “written by Paḍa the scribe,” but as being *paḍēna likhitāñ ipikarēṇa*, and as meaning “written by the scribe in the *paḍa*-fashion, separating all “the words” (*loc. cit.*, p. 466); and he explained that the text sent out from the chancellor's office at Suvannagiri to that at Isila bore that indication in order to put the local writer on his guard against any fancy for pedantry. He took the words *vicuthēna*, *vyūthēnā*, and *vyūthēna* as denoting any of the couriers or messengers by whom the edict was circulated from place to place (*ibid.*, p. 469 f.). Following

the reading of *sata-vivāsā* as a compound, he took *sata* as representing the Sanskrit *smṛita*, in the sense of 'enunciated, mentioned,' and interpreted the ablative *vivāsā*, and the corresponding *vivuthā* of the *Sahasrām* version, as denoting the despatch or missive, the edict itself, with which the messengers were entrusted, and rendered the phrases as meaning "according to the aforesaid missive" (*ibid.*, p. 472). And, noting a habit which both the Buddhists and the Jains had, of guaranteeing the integrity of their texts by recording the number of syllables (*aksharas*) which they contained (*ibid.*, p. 472 f.), and finding an approximation to the number 256 in certain parts of each version of the edict, he explained the number 256 as indicating, not a date, but "simply the official notation of the number of *aksharas* "contained in the edict, in the form which it had received "in the royal chancellor's office of Pāṭaliputra" (*ibid.*, p. 474).

In respect of my own interpretation of this passage I have to say, in the first place, that I unhesitatingly endorse the view, originally propounded by Dr. Bühler, that the number 256 is a date.

It is true that the passage does not include any word for 'years.' And it would probably be difficult to find many such instances, in which an omitted word for 'years' is not replaced by some word meaning 'time,' in the epigraphic records of India; though M. Boyer has apparently found two such instances, referable according to the present understanding to the first century B.C., in the epigraphic records of Ceylon (JA, 1898, ii, pp. 466, 467). But the passage does at any rate not present anything which excludes the understanding that a date is meant. The *vivuthā* of the *Sahasrām* record, and the *vivāsā* of the Rūpnāth record, may be taken as ablatives singular, masculine or neuter, dependent upon the number 256, quite as well as nominatives plural, masculine or neuter, in apposition with that number; while, in the Brahmagiri record there is no word at all, to give any indication as to how the number 256 is to be applied. And this latter fact is particularly instructive. For,

though an omission of a word meaning 'years' is easily intelligible and can be matched, and though it is quite easy to comprehend how a simple statement of figures could be at once recognised as a date even without any word to indicate the starting-point of the reckoning, it is at least very difficult to understand, if 'persons' of some kind or another were intended, how the text could come to be left in such a form as to give not the slightest clue as to the nature of those persons, or to understand, if any such detail was intended as the marking of the number of 'syllables,' why there is no similar entry at the end of also the second edict in the Mysore records, especially as it is there that there stand the words which, according to one view, record a special feature in the verbal construction of the original text.

It is probably to Buddhist and Jain literature, rather than to any epigraphic records, that we must turn for similar instances of an omission of a word meaning 'years.' And, while it is not worth while to spend time over a special search for such cases,— inasmuch as the record has to be dealt with on its own merits, and irrespective of the question whether exact analogies can be found or not,— I will quote one instance from Buddhist literature, quite to the point, which came under my observation accidentally, in casually looking into the contents of a work which I had seen described as being of importance for the ecclesiastical history of Ceylon. The work in question is the *Sāsanavamsa* or *Sāsanavamsappadīpikā*, composed by a Burmese scholar named Pañṇasāmi who finished it not very long ago; to be exact, in 1861. Pañṇasāmi has recorded the date of the completion of his work, in the common Burmese era commencing A.D. 638, in the following verse (ed. Mrs. Bode, 1897, text p. 170):— *Ḍvi-satē cha saḥassē cha tēvīs-ādhikē gatē*¹ *puṇṇāyam Migasirassa niṭṭham gatā va sabbasō*. And the translation is:— “ (*This Sāsanavamsappadīpikā*) verily attained completion in all respects on the full-moon

¹ The metre is faulty in this *pāda*. Pāli authors, however, seem to have never troubled themselves about irregularities of metre.

day of (*the month*) Migasira, when there had, gone by two hundred and a thousand and twenty-three."

Here we have an unmistakable instance, quite to the point, of omission of a word for 'years' or 'time' in a passage recording a date.¹ To that I have only to add the following remarks. The natural appearance of the passage with which we are concerned, is distinctly that of a date. Though the other interpretations which have been proposed by MM. Senart and Sylvain Lévi, have been supported by substantial arguments, they do not present any meaning that can be recognised as following naturally, without straining. And they are distinctly wrong in taking the *satā* of the Sahasrām record as equivalent to *sattā*, *sattāni*, the nominative plural, and the *sata* of the Rūpnāth version as equivalent to *satta*, the base, of *satta*, = *sattva*, 'being, existence; a living or sentient being.' The word *satta*, = *sattva*, is one in respect of which the people who used the language or orthography of the Asōka edicts, could not afford to follow the practice of reducing double consonants to single ones, or, at any rate, to use generally the word so reduced; because, unless in any such phrase as *sava-sata-hitāyē*, *sava-satānam hitāyē*, "for the welfare of all sentient beings," the result, *sata*, would have been so liable to be confused with *sata*, = *śata*, 'hundred,' and *sata*, = *satta*, = *saptan*, 'seven,' and *sata*, = *smṛita*, 'remembered, mentioned; thoughtful.' And, as has already been intimated (page 4 above), both the *satā* of the Sahasrām record and the *sata* of the Rūpnāth record mean 'hundreds, centuries:' in conformity with a common method of expression in Hindū dates, in translating which we have to supply the word 'of' in order to obtain a grammatical rendering, they stand in apposition, not with only the word *duvē*, 'two,' and the numerical symbol for 200, but with the words and

¹ I may now add, in revising the proofs of my article, another literary instance which, also, has come to my notice casually. It is a passage in a Jain *paṭṭāvah*, which places the destruction of Valabhī and other occurrences such and such numbers (of years) after the death of Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna by the words:—*śrī-Virāt 845 Valabhī-bhaṅgaḥ 826 kvachit 886 brahmadvipikāḥ 882 chaitya-sthith;* see IA, xi, 1882, p. 252 b.

the numerical symbols which mean 256; but of course the intended purport is, not 256 centuries, but two centuries and fifty-six years.

It is, in fact, an inevitable conclusion that the number 256 is a date. And, following Dr. Bühler in the second detail also, I fully agree with him that that date was reckoned from the death of Buddha. But I arrive at this result in a different way.

Now, in the first place, the passage mentions the making or composing, and the inculcation, of a religious precept by, plainly, a religious teacher, whom it specifies by the words *vivutha*, *vyutha*, and *vyūtha*; and it places some event in the career of that teacher, indicated by the ablatives *vivuthā* and *vivāsā*, 256 years before the actual time at which the edict was issued by Aśoka.

The allusion can only be to one or other of the two great ancient Hindū teachers, Buddha and Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna.¹ And,—even setting aside the facts, that, if tradition is true, Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna died at least 258 years before the *abhishēka* or anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty, and that this edict was certainly not issued until long after the anointment of Aśoka,—it is certain, for a reason already mentioned on page 3 above, that, whatever may be the religion which Aśoka originally professed, it was to Buddhism that he was converted.

The words *vivutha*, *vyutha*, and *vyūtha*, therefore, must denote Buddha. And the word *vivāsa* must mark some event, used as the starting-point of a chronological reckoning, in the career of Buddha.

Now, Professor Rhys Davids propounded the view that, if the edict is really a Buddhist and not a Jain proclamation,

¹ The validity of my general argument would not be destroyed, even if hereafter there should be established something which, I believe, is held to have been demolished long ago; namely, that Buddha and Vardhamāna were originally one and the same person, and were differentiated by the divergence of rival sects, with the inevitable oriental concomitant of the invention of separative details of the most circumstantial kind, perhaps before, perhaps only after, the time of Aśoka. However, I do not make any assertion in that direction; I have not studied the point. I only hint at a possibility, which must not be altogether ignored even now.

it is to be understood that the starting-point of the reckoning of the 256 years was, not the death of Buddha, but his *vivāsa* in the sense of his *nekkhamma*, *abhinikkhamana*, or *abhinishkramaṇa*,—"the Great Renunciation,"—when he left his home to become an ascetic (*Academy*, 14th July, 1877, p. 37, and *ACMC*, p. 58). And this same view has been adopted by M. Boyer (*JA*, 1898, ii, p. 486).

But Professor Rhys Davids himself did not regard with any favour (*ACMC*, p. 60),—and apparently quite rightly,—the idea, entertained by someone else, that the Jains had an era dating from the *abhinishkramaṇa* of Mahāvira-Vardhamāna, an event quite as important to the Jains as the same event in the life of Buddha could be to the Buddhists. And, even irrespective of the point that the actual departure from home would be denoted by the word *vivasana* more correctly than by *vivāsa*, whatever may be the case in the Buddhist literature in general,—whatever may be the statements which can be found there, to surround the *abhinishkramaṇa* of Buddha with so great a halo of romance as to justify our speaking of it as "the Great Renunciation,"—there is nothing in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, or in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, to indicate that the *Pōraṇatthakathā*, the *Atthakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* or *Sīhaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* of the Mahāvihāra monastery, the early work on which the *Dīpavaṃsa* and partially the *Mahāvaṃsa* were based (*Oldenberg*, *Dīpavaṃsa*, Introd. p. 2 ff.),—a work of quite possibly the time of Aśoka himself or nearly so,—attached any importance at all, as an epoch-making event, to the *abhinishkramaṇa* of Buddha. In connection with the *Mahāvaṃsa*, we must bear in mind a point, to which, it would appear, no attention has as yet been paid, but which is of importance because, in consequence of it, while we may criticise the *Mahāvaṃsa* by the *Dīpavaṃsa*, we must not criticise the *Dīpavaṃsa* by the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Mahānāman, the author of the earlier portion, really known as the *Padyapadānuvaṃsa* or *Padyapadōruvaṃsa*, of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, had opportunities, in consequence of the intervening visit of Buddhaghōsha to Ceylon from Magadha, and of his own

visit to Magadha which is proved by his inscription at Bôdh-Gayā,¹ of introducing into his narrative additional items of

¹ I refer to one or other of two records edited by me in *Gupta Inscriptions*, 1888, No. 71, p. 274, and No. 72, p. 278 (see also *IA*, xv, 1886, pp. 356, 359). The inscription No. 71 is dated in the year 269, in the month Chaitra; it mentions, in a line of Buddhist disciples of Laṅkā (Ceylon), Bhava, Rāhula, Upasēna (I.), Mahānāman (I.), Upasēna (II.), and Mahānāman (II.), a resident of Āmudvipa, and born in the island of Laṅkā; and it records that, in the specified year, the second Mahānāman founded a Buddhist temple or monastery at the Bôdhimanda, that is at Bôdh-Gayā. The inscription No. 72 is not dated; it records the presentation of a Buddhist image by the *Śhavarra* Mahānāman, a resident of Āmudvipa.

When I edited these records, I took the *Śhavarra* Mahānāman of the inscription No. 72 to be identical with the second Mahānāman of No. 71. I interpreted the date in No. 71, the year 269, the month Chaitra, as a date of the Gupta era, falling in A.D. 588. And I said in respect of No. 71:—"Its extreme interest lies in the fact that, as the Mahānāman, whose record it is, can hardly be any other than the well-known person of that name who wrote the more ancient part of the Pāli *Mahāvamsa* or History of Ceylon, its date shews either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology, as hitherto accepted, are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be, or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working out those details; and it furnishes a definite point from which the chronology may now be adjusted backwards" (*Gupta Insers.*, 1888, *Introd.* p. 16; see also *id.*, *texts*, p. 275 f., and *IA*, xv, 1886, p. 357).

What I have said on the present occasion, I have said with a full knowledge of what Mr. Vincent Smith has written (*IA*, xxvi, 1902, p. 192 ff.) with a view to upsetting both the identification proposed by me and the remarks made by me in connection with it, and also a different identification proposed by M. Sylvain Lévi with the result of interpreting the date of the record as a date of the Śaka era, falling in A.D. 347 (*JA*, 1900, i, pp. 401-411).

M. Lévi's proposal, in connection with the Śaka era, is altogether unsustainable. And, for my part, I have to withdraw an alternative suggestion made by me, that the date of the record might be a date of the Kalachuri or Chêdî era, falling in A.D. 518 (*Gupta Insers.*, *Index*, pp. 320, 324). My original explanation of the date, as a date of the Gupta era, falling in A.D. 588, is the correct one.

I endorse Mr. Smith's conclusion (*IA*, xxvi, 1902, p. 193) that the undated inscription No. 72, of the *Śhavarra* Mahānāman, is some fifty years earlier than the dated inscription No. 71. And it is, no doubt, a record of the first Mahānāman of the inscription No. 71, whom Mr. Smith has styled "the spiritual grandfather" (*loc. cit.*, p. 193) of the second Mahānāman of that record, the one to whom the date in the year 269 belongs.

For the rest, Mr. Smith's conclusions are wrong. They rest primarily upon a belief that the Ceylonese chronology is substantially accurate from B.C. 161 onwards (*loc. cit.*, p. 195, line 17 ff.). That, however, is a quite erroneous belief, which is traceable back to another initial mistake, or rather an initial unsustainable assertion, made by Mr. George Turnour (see, *e.g.*, *JASB*, vi, 1837, p. 721), and which can be easily exploded.

The suggestions which I put forward in 1886 and 1888 in respect of the Ceylonese chronology, are quite correct. Turnour selected, for working it out, a wrong starting-point, B.C. 543, which is not asserted by, or supported by anything contained in, either the *Dipavamsa* or the earlier part of the *Mahāvamsa*, but was simply invented in (as far as I can see my way clear at present) the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. And we are gradually obtaining items of information from various sources, which shew that the details in the Ceylonese chronicles are not accurate in respect even of names, much less of dates.

But it is possible that the author Mahānāman should be identified with the *Śhavarra* Mahānāman (roughly about A.D. 538) of the Bôdh-Gayā undated

tradition and romance which were not available to the author of the earlier work, the *Dīpavaṃsa*; and he unquestionably availed himself of those opportunities, in completing the alleged history of the period before Aśōka, and in filling in some of the asserted details of the life of Aśōka himself. And yet even the *Mahāvāṃsa* merely says:— “The Bōdhisatta was five years older than Bimbisāra; and, when he was twenty-nine years of age, the Bōdhisatta went forth” (*nikkhami*); namely, by supplying what is understood, “on his divine mission” (*Mahāvāṃsa*, Turnour, p. 10, Wijesinha, p. 8), or, let us rather say, “to acquire *bōdhi* or *sambōdhi*, true knowledge.” While the *Dīpavaṃsa*, 3, 47, does not even specify the age of Buddha when he left his home, but simply says:— “He, Siddhattha, the leader of the world, son of Suddhōdana, having begotten Rāhulabhadda, went forth for (*the purpose of acquiring true*) knowledge” (*bōdhāya abhinikkhami*; Oldenberg, text, p. 29).

There is nothing to suggest that the Buddhists ever recognised a reckoning dating from the *abhinishkramaṇa* of Buddha, when he left his father's regal home, and went forth to acquire that true knowledge which was to qualify him to be a teacher and the founder of a faith. Nor can I detect anything to indicate that an event in his life, which would be much more likely to have served as an epoch-making event, was ever applied as such; namely, his first public appearance as a teacher, when, at the age of thirty-five according to tradition, he expounded his religion to the king Bimbisāra (*Dīpavaṃsa*, 3, 57, 58; *Mahāvāṃsa*, Turnour, p. 10, Wijesinha, p. 8).

On the other hand, there are indisputable evidences, in many directions,— in India itself, and in Ceylon, Tibet, China, Burma, and Siam,— that there was a custom, from

inscription No. 72, rather than with the second Mahānāman (A.D. 588) of the dated inscription No. 71. This, however, is a point which will have to be thought out on some other occasion, when I shall have more to say about the circumstances in which Mahānāman wrote the *Paḍyapadānūvaṃsa* or *Paḍyapadārūpaṃsa*, and about the mistake of taking him to be a maternal uncle of king Dhātusēna who is supposed to have reigned A.D. 459 to 477 or 463 to 479.

an early time, of determining chronology by placing events such and such a number of years after the death of Buddha. And, even *primâ facie*, we need not hesitate for a moment about accepting that event as the starting-point of the 256 years mentioned in the edict.

But, from what point of view, and with what meaning, does the edict present the words *vivutha*, *vyutha*, and *vyûtha*, to denote the great founder of the Buddhist religion, instead of exhibiting his name Buddha itself, already well established, as we know from the so-called Bhabra edict? And how did it come to present the ablatives *vivuthā* of the *Sahasrām* record and *vivāsā* of the *Rūpnāth* record, to denote his death, instead of exhibiting something answering to the familiar *nirvāna* or *parinirvāna*, well established for at any rate not much later times, or some participial form answering to the *niibbata* or *parinibbata* of the Pāli books?

To the understanding that the words *vivutha*, *vyutha*, and *vyûtha* denote Buddha, objections have been urged on the basis that these words, and the word *virāsa*, are not to be found in Buddhist literature, but do occur in Jain literature. Thus, Professor Pischel (*Academy*, 11th August, 1877, p. 145) agreed with Dr. Bühler that the words *vivutha* and *vyutha* — (the form *vyûtha* was not then known) — might be taken as meaning “the Departed” in the sense of “the Deceased,” though Dr. Bühler had arrived at that understanding by a false etymology; and he apparently acquiesced in the view, — at any rate, he did not oppose it, — that the number 256 is a date. But, on the other hand, he held that the record is a Jain record, probably issued by Sampadi-Samprati, an alleged grandson of Aśoka according to the Jains. He expressed the opinion that the word *vivutha* is a name of Mahāvira-Vardhamāna. And, in favour of that view, he hazarded the conjecture that some such word as *vivāsa* must occur in a certain passage, in the Jain *Kalpasūtra*, which mentions the death of Mahāvira-Vardhamāna. Professor Rhys Davids, however, was able to shew at once (*ACMC*, p. 60) that no such word occurs there. And, turning to the text, as edited by Professor Jacobi, we find (*ADMG*, vii,

1878, p. 67) that the word actually used is *parinibbuda*, equivalent to the *parinibbuta* of the Buddhist Pāli writers. So, again, Professor J. P. Minayeff, taking the same view that the edict is a Jain record, quoted (*Récherches sur le Bouddhisme*, Annales du Musée Guimet, iv, 1894, p. 78, note 1) a verse, from the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* of Hēmachandra, as placing the death of the Jain teacher Jambū a certain number of years after the death of Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna by the words *śrī-Vīra-mōksha-vivasāt*, which might be rendered "after the departure into liberation of the holy Vīra." But, turning to Professor Jacobi's edition of the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* (Bibliotheca Indica, 1891, p. 161, verse 61), we find that the actual word in the text is *divasāt*, "after the day of the liberation of the holy Vīra."

Thus, two attempts at any rate, to shew that the words with which we are concerned are to be found in Jain literature, have failed. And even if other attempts in that direction should be successful, what would they establish? At any rate, not that the expressions are not Buddhist also. We should think that, if any particular words are exclusively Jain, they would be the names Jina, 'the victorious one, the conqueror, the vanquisher,' and Mahāvīra, 'the great hero.' Yet these appellations are constantly applied to Buddha in the older books.¹ And even the modern Buddhist author Paññāsāmi has freely used the expressions *Jinasāsana* and *Jinachakka* to denote "the doctrine of Buddha" and "the dispensation of Buddha" (*Sāsanavamsa*, ed. Mrs. Bode, e.g., pp. 7, 16, 27, 28, 39).

As a matter of fact, derivatives from that verb *vivas* with which we are concerned, do occur in Buddhist literature. For the present, indeed, having no glossary for reference except that published by Dr. Fausbøll of the *Suttanipāta*,

¹ For instance, Jina, in the *Suttanipāta*, verses 379, 697, 996 (ed. Fausbøll, pp. 67, 131, 182), and in the *Dipavamsa*, 1, 80, 80; 4, 10 (ed. Oldenberg, pp. 15, 20, 31), and in the *Mahāvamsa* (Turnour, p. 2, line 12, p. 3, line 6, p. 9, line 13, "our Vanquisher was a son of the great king Suddhōdana and of Māyā"); and Mahāvīra, in the *Suttanipāta*, verses 543, 562 (pp. 98, 106), and in the *Dipavamsa*, 1, 49; 2, 52; 3, 58 (pp. 16, 24, 30), and in the *Mahāvamsa* (n. 2, line 3).

I can trace only the following two instances, in one of the true etymological meanings of the verb; namely, in the *Suttanipāta*, verse 710, where we have *tatō ratyā vivasanē* (ed. Fausböll, p. 132), translated by the editor himself "then when night is passing away" (SBE, x, *Suttanipāta*, p. 127, verse 32), and in the same work *namassamānō vivasēmi rattim*, "worshipping I spend the night" (text p. 208, verse 1142, translation p. 201, verse 19). But we may fairly quote also the following instances of the use, in the same work, of the closely similar verb *vipravasa*, 'to set out on a journey, to go or dwell abroad, to dwell away;' namely, *vippavāsasi*, 'thou dost stay away,' *vippavasāmi*, 'I stay away,' and *avippavāsa*, 'a not staying away' (text p. 207 f., verses 1138, 1140, 1142, translation p. 200 f., verses 15, 17, 19). And, if a conjecture may be hazarded on my own side, it is that we shall obtain plenty of instances hereafter of the use of the verb *vivas* in Buddhist texts, and some of them in accordance with the exact meaning in which, as we shall see, the derivatives presented in the edict were used.

Meanwhile, what are the exact etymological meanings of the words *virutha*, *vyuṭṭha*, *vyūṭha*, and *virāsa*? And what special characteristic of Buddha was there, to account for the use of such terms in connection with him?

The form *vyūṭha*, with the long *ū* and the dental *th*, is a variant of, no doubt, *vyuṭṭha*, with the short *u* and the lingual or cerebral *ṭh*. And, as such, it is to be accounted for by the influences which have given us such forms as, in the rock edict No. 4, *radhitē* (Kālsī, line 11) against *radhitē* (Girnār, line 7), and in rock edict No. 1, *pāna* (Kālsī, line 3) against *prāṇu* (Girnār, line 9), and in rock edict No. 2, *Tambapanni* (Kālsī, line 4) against *Tambapaniṇi* (Girnār, line 2-3), and, in rock edict No. 13, apparently *diyadha* (Shāhbāzgarhī, line 1) against *diyadha* (Kālsī, line 35).

As regards the other forms, *virutha* and *vyuṭṭha*, Professor Pischel has convincingly explained (*Academy*, 11th August, 1877, p. 145) that they represent the Pāli forms *viruttha* and *vyuṭṭha* of respectively *vyushita* and *vyushṭa*, the Sanskrit past

participles with *ta* of the root *vas*, 'to dwell, etc.' (class 1, *vasati*, *nivāsē*), with the separative, distributive, or privative prefix *vi*. He has also told us that the word *sata*, in the compound *sata-vivāsā* as was then the understanding, cannot represent, as Dr. Bühler thought it does, the Pāli *satthu* and the Sanskrit *śāstrī*, 'a teacher.' In this latter point, we quite accept his decision. But, for reasons already stated (page 13 above), we cannot follow him in his endorsement of Dr. Bühler's reading of *sata-vivāsā* as a compound, even though coupled with his own substitution of "since his departure from life," instead of Dr. Bühler's "since the departure of the Teacher." Nor need we take, and in fact we are restrained from taking, for the words with which we are concerned, any figurative meaning in the direction of 'deceased' and 'death,' for which no authority has been produced.

Of that verb *ivas* which has just been indicated, the actual meanings, as given in Sir Monier Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, new edition, 1899, and as fully endorsed by the St. Petersburg Dictionary and the quotations given therein, are :— (1) to change an abode, depart from; (2) with *brahmacharyāni*, to enter upon an apprenticeship, become a pupil; (3) to abide, dwell, live; (4) to pass, spend (time). It is sufficient to take for our purposes the first of these meanings, from which we have for *vyushita* and *vyushṭa* the sense of 'one who has departed from home.' And we are constrained, by a passage in the Rūpnāth record itself, to take the words in their natural meaning, and in that particular one.

In the Rūpnāth record, the passage which we are considering is immediately preceded by two sentences, of which one explains the point. The first of these two sentences tells us that the purport of the edict had been engraved upon mountains "both in distant places and here,"¹ and directs

¹ The facsimiles distinctly shew :— *vāḷata* hadha cha. As will be seen immediately, there are several writer's mistakes in this part of the record. And we must correct the text into :— *palata* hidha cha; in which *palata* is the local form of the Pāli *paratō*, = the Sanskrit *paratas*, 'farther, far off.'

that it should be engraved on stone pillars wherever there *may be such pillars. And it is to be incidentally remarked that the first of these clauses is instructive. The whole of* this sentence, except for the words *palata hidha cha*, stands, with some slight differences, in also the Sahasrām record, after the date; and the sentence which we have to notice in the next paragraph, may have stood after it and have become illegible, or may have been omitted. But the Brahmagiri record, as also the other two Mysore records at Śiddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāṁnēśvara, does not present either of the two sentences. And it is a plain inference that those three places were some of the “distant places,” at which the edict had been published and engraved before the time when it was published and engraved at Sahasrām and Rūpnāth.

The second sentence runs thus:—*Ētinā cha vāyajanēnā yāvataka tupaka āhālē savara vivasētavi[ya] ti.* There are several palpable writer's mistakes here. We must correct the text into:—*Ētinā cha viyājananēnā yāvatakē tūphākāṁ āhālē saṁvarā vivasētaviyē ti.* And the meaning is then plain enough:—“And by this same suggestion, intimation, (*it is directed that*) to whatsoever extent (*there may be*) an employing, a deputation, of you, (*to that extent you*) should with active exertion, energetically, depart from home;” namely, to travel abroad in order either to engrave the edict in other places also, or in a general way to propagate the teaching of it.¹

¹ M. Senart went nearer than Dr. Buhler to the meaning of this passage. But it is not possible to follow him in reading *savata*, for the Pāli *sabbatā*, the Sanskrit *sarvatas*, ‘from all sides, in every direction, everywhere.’ The original distinctly has *savara*. and Dr. Buhler recognised that it indicated *saṁvara*, though he took it as, apparently, a nominative, and translated it by “(*learning to*) subdue his senses.” In *saṁvarā*, we have the ablative, used adverbially. *Saṁvara* is given in Childers' Pāli Dictionary as meaning ‘closing, restraint.’ It is there explained that ‘restraint’ is of five kinds. The fifth restraint is *virya-saṁvara*, ‘the restraint which enables a man to make an active exertion.’ And that is the sense which I take.

I have taken what seems to be here the plain purport of *āhāla* from the meaning ‘employing, use,’ which is given to *āhāra* in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary on the authority of the *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*. There is a particular use of the word *āhāra*,—not yet explained, but perhaps to be explained in much the same

With that use of the verb *vicas* before us, in the same record, we are constrained to take something at least closely approximating to that same natural sense in our explanation of the derivatives *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, *vyūtha*, and *vivāsa*. And we find at once the meaning that we require, by a consideration of the main characteristic of the life of Buddha.

The leading feature of the life of Buddha was that, from the time of his leaving his home, or at least from the time when he had attained that true knowledge for the purpose of acquiring which he left his home, he had no more any settled abode; he was thenceforth always a traveller, a pilgrim, a wanderer upon the face of the earth.

To this point attention has already been drawn by Dr. Fausboll, on p. 14 f. of his introduction to his translation of the *Suttanipāta* (SBE, x, 1881 and 1898), where he has said:—“What then is Buddha? First he is a Visionary, “in the good sense of the word; his knowledge is intuitive, “‘Seeing misery,’ he says, ‘in the philosophical views, “without adopting any of them, searching for truth, I saw “inward peace.’ Secondly he is an Ascetic, “a Muni, one that forsakes the world and wanders from “the house to the houseless state; because from house-life “arises defilement.”

Sometimes, indeed, Buddha was a sojourner (*viharati*, *viharitvā*), as in the Brāhmaṇ village Ēkanālā at Dakkhiṇāgiri in the land of Magadha, in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika in the Jētavana woods at Sāvattihī, and on the bank of the river Sundarikā in the Kōsala country (*Suttanipāta*, ed. Fausboll, Pāli Text Society, pp. 12, 17, 79), and for as long as it pleased him (*yathābhirantanī*) at Ambalatṭhikā, at Kōṭigāma, and in Ambapālī’s grove (*Mahāparinibbānasutta*, ed. Childers, JRAS, N.S., vii, pp. 57, 66, 72). And sometimes he dwelt

way,—in between the mention of *ārambha*, ‘ exertions,’ and *niḡṣṭa*, ‘ commotions,’ — in the *Suttanipāta*, verses 747, 748, and the prose preceding them.

It does not seem appropriate, even if practicable, to follow Dr. Bühler (IA, vi, 157, note §) and M. Senart (*Inscr. de Pīya.*, ii, 194, and IA, xx, 164, 16), in finding in this passage of the edict a pun based on a secondary allusion to boiled rice, a viaticum, and condiments.

(*vasi*) for even a whole year at a place, as at Rājagaha during the rainy season and the winter and the summer (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, i, p. 79).

But the feature of his life was wandering from place to place. In describing his own origin, from among the people of Kōsala just beside Himavanta, he said to king Bimbisāra : — “They are Ādicchās by clan, Sākiyas by birth ; from that family I have wandered out (*pabbajitō*), not longing for sensual pleasures” (*Suttanipāta*, p. 73, verse 423, and see translation, SBE, x, p. 68, verse 19). And to the tempter Māra he said :— “Having made my thought subject to me, and my attention firm, I shall roam (*richarissamī*) from land to land, training disciples extensively” (*id*, p. 77, verse 444, and see translation, p. 70, verse 20). And so we find, sometimes that, in the regular course of his wanderings (*anupubbēna*), he was journeying on his journey (*chārikam charamānō*) to Uruvālā, to Rājagaha, and to Bārāṇasī (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, i, pp. 24, 210, 289) ; and sometimes that, having sojourned for as long as it pleased him, he set out afresh on his journey (*chārikam pakkāmi*) from Uruvālā to Gayāsīsa, and from Gayāsīsa to Rājagaha, and thence to Kapilavatthu (*id*, pp. 34, 35, 82).

But better than anywhere else is the nature of his life exhibited, with the motive for it, in the beautiful opening verses of the *Pabbajjāsutta* subdivision of the *Mahāvagga* section of the *Suttanipāta*, of which I reproduce Dr. Fausboll's translation (SBE, x, 1898, *Suttanipāta*, p. 66), taking only the liberty of substituting for his “ascetic” the word “wandering,” more in accordance with the term *pabbajjā*, = *pravrajyā*, ‘a going about, migration, a roaming, wandering about,’ of the original text (ed. Fausboll, p. 71), and in agreement with his own translation of at any rate the verse, quoted above, which describes the extraction of Buddha :—
 “(1) I will praise a wandering life such as the clearly-seeing (Buddha) led, such as he thinking (over it), approved of as
 “a wandering life.— (2) ‘This house-life is pain, the seat of
 “impurity,’ and ‘a wandering life is an open-air life,’ so
 “considering he embraced a wandering life.— (3) Leading

"a wandering life, he avoided with his body sinful deeds, "and having (also) abandoned sin in words, he cleansed his "life." And so the poem goes on, narrating the meeting of Buddha and Bimbisāra, the pilgrim and the king:— "(4) Buddha went to Rājagaha; he entered Giribbaja of the Magadhas for alms, with a profusion of excellent signs.— (5) Bimbisāra standing in his palace saw him;" and so on.

Buddha was essentially a *pabbajita*, a *paribbājaka*, a wandering ascetic teacher. And he was *par excellence*, in the eyes of the Buddhists, "the Wanderer" of his own time and of many centuries thereafter.¹ The existence of a verse in the edict which we are considering, has already been suggested by Mr. Thomas (see this Journal, 1903, p. 833). I find in the record another touch of poetry, in the selection of the words *vivutha*, *vyutha*, and *vyūtha*, in preference to any commonplace expression, to denote Buddha as "he who left his home and became a Wanderer." And in harmony with that idea there was used, to indicate his death, the ablative *vivāsā*, "after (his) wandering," in the sense of "after the end of all the wanderings of his life." The ablative *vivuthā* of the Sahasrām record might, of course, be interpreted as the ablative of the neuter verbal noun *vivutha*, with the same meaning as *vivāsa*. But it seems more proper to take its base, *vivutha*, in exactly the same sense in which it was used for the instrumental *vivuthēna* in the same passage, so that its meaning is "after the Wanderer," in the sense of "after the death of the Wanderer." With this use of the appellation we may compare, in epigraphic records, such expressions as those which specify such and such a number of years elapsed *Vikramāt*, "after Vikrama" (e.g., Professor

¹ I should have liked to include in my remarks something of what Professor Rhys Davids has said, in his recently published *Buddhist India*, about the teaching "Wanderers" of ancient India, as contrasted with the "Hermits" who lived in fixed abodes in the forests occupying themselves in meditation and the performance of sacrificial rites or in the practice of austerities, and about the high esteem in which the "Wanderers" were held by the people at large, and the part that they played in the development of Buddhism. But it was only after my article had gone to the printers, that I became aware of his book. The recognition of Buddha as "the Wanderer" presented itself to me independently, some time ago, as a natural result of my own inquiries.

Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, EI, v, Appendix, p. 11, No. 73, p. 29, No. 202), and in literature such expressions as *Vikkamāu kalammi*, "in the time after *Vikkama*" (IA, xix, p. 36, No. 60), and such and such a number of years *śrī-Vīrāt*, "after the holy *Vīra*" (IA, xx, p. 345, line 8 ff. from the bottom). And, with these explanations, I translate thus the texts which we have been considering:—

Sahasrām:— "And this same precept (*was composed*) by the Wanderer; (*of*) centuries, two (*hundred*). and fifty-six (*years have elapsed*) since the Wanderer; (*or in figures*)¹ 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6."

Rūpnāth:— "(*This same*) precept was composed by the Wanderer; (*of*) centuries, 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6 (*years have elapsed*) since (*his*) wanderings."

Brahmagiri:— "And this same precept was inculcated by the Wanderer; 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6 (*years have elapsed since then*)."

¹ For the insertion of these words, compare the familiar *aṅkatōzpa* of later records.

(*To be concluded.*)

II.

**NOTE ON THE CONTENTS OF THE
TA'RIKH-I-JAHAN-GUSHA :**

OR HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR, CHANGIZ KHAN,
BY 'ATA MALIK JUWAYNI,

*with an appreciation and comparison of some of the manuscripts
of this work, especially those belonging to the Bibliothèque
Nationale at Paris.*

By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., M.R.A.S.

NO event since the time of the Prophet Muḥammad has, probably, so profoundly affected the history of Western Asia as the disastrous wave of Mongol Invasion which, beginning with the first conquests of Changíz Khán at the beginning of the thirteenth century of our era, culminated in the sack of Baghdad and the extinction of the Caliphate by his grandson Húlágú Khán in A.D. 1258.

D'Ohsson, in his great *Histoire des Mongols* (1834), enumerates the following five Arabic and Persian works as the most important Muḥammadan sources for the history of this period :—

1. The well-known *Ta'rikhu'l-Kámil* of Ibnu'l-Athír, who died in A.H. 630 (A.D. 1232-3), under A.H. 617 and the following years of the chronicle.

2. The *Sirat*, or Biography, of that valiant antagonist of the Mongols, Jalálu'd-Dín Mankubirtí, the last of the Khwárazmsháhs, composed by his faithful secretary Shihábu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Aḥmad of Nasá in Khurásán. This work, inspired by Ibnu'l-Athír's narrative, comprises 108 chapters, was written in A.H. 639 (A.D. 1241-2), and is characterized by d'Ohsson as “une narration simple et naturelle.”

3. The *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-gushá* of 'Atá Malik JuwaynÍ, which forms the subject of the present notice. This history

was composed in A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260), and is carried down to the death of Ruknu'd-Dín Khursháh, last Grand-Master of the Assassins of Alamút, in A.H. 655 (A.D. 1257), while a few MSS. contain an additional Appendix on the sack of Baghdad, which took place in the following year. The author, who was secretary to Húlágú Khán himself, died in A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282-3).

4. The *Kitábu Tajziyati'l-Amşar wa Tajziyati'l-A'sár* of 'Abdu'lláh b. Faḍlu'lláh, who (since he was the panegyrist of the Mongol Court) is generally called *Waṣṣáfu'l-Hadrat*, whence his history is commonly known as the *Ta'rikh-i-Waṣṣáf*. It is professedly a continuation of the *Jahán-gushá* last mentioned (with an abstract of which it concludes), and covers the years A.H. 655-728 (A.D. 1257-1327). Undertaken for Gházán Khán, it was only completed in the time of his successor Uljáyту, to whom the author, introduced by Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (author of the history to be next mentioned), presented it. The Preface was written in A.H. 699 (A.D. 1299-1300). It is much admired in the East for (what in our eyes is a blemish) its florid and laboured style, over-charged with every species of rhetorical ornament.

5. The *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh*, or great universal history, of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, the accomplished and unfortunate Minister who was put to death on Sept. 13, A.D. 1318 (A.H. 718). It comprises three volumes, of which the *first* treats of the general history and ethnology of the Mongols, and, in greater detail, of their history from the time of Changíz Khán till the time of Uljáyту. This volume was concluded in A.H. 702 (A.D. 1302-3). The *second* volume deals with the general history of the pre-Mongol period, while the *third* treats of Geography. The history was brought down by the author to the death of Gházán Khán, while a supplement, composed by Mas'úd b. 'Abdu'lláh in A.H. 837 (A.D. 1433-4), carries it down to A.H. 736 (A.D. 1335-6).

Of these five sources, the first two, which are both in Arabic, have been published *in extenso*, while of the last three, which are all in Persian, portions only (and in the case of the *Jahán-gushá* only a small portion, in vol. ii of

Schefer's *Chrestomathie persane*, pp. 105-169) have been published.

The *Jahán-gushá* is, then, the most neglected, though by no means the least interesting, of these five important histories; nor is it interesting only by reason of its well-informed and original account of the Mongol Invasion. This, and the Rise and Development of the Mongol power down to the destruction of the Khwárazmsháhs and of the Assassins of Alamút, form the subject of the *first* volume; while the *second* and *third* volumes deal respectively with the history of the two Dynasties last mentioned. The history of the Assassins in particular is discussed with singular fulness and authority, for the author accompanied Húlágú Khán (in his capacity of secretary) on the expedition against their chief strongholds, and was able to examine and note the contents of many rare books in their well-stocked libraries, which were immediately afterwards committed to the flames. Thus it happens that this work contains many particulars concerning the history and doctrines of this interesting sect which are not to be found elsewhere, as well as much matter throwing light on the social and literary history of the period.

The public libraries of Europe contain altogether at least some fourteen manuscripts of this important work, of which I have examined eight more or less fully, viz., the British Museum MS. (Or. 155), the India Office MS. (No. 1914 = No. 170 in Ethé's Catalogue), and six of the Paris MSS., some of which (in particular a very fine one, dated A.H. 689) are remarkably good. These I shall refer to in the remainder of this article as B.M., I.O., and P¹-P⁶. For an edition of the text, which I have long contemplated for my Persian Historical Text Series, P² (Suppl. persan, 205), the ancient MS. above mentioned, would form the proper basis, while B.M. and I.O. are both so incorrect, incomplete, and defaced by dislocations and *lacunæ*, that they might well be ignored, and I only mention them in what follows because they are most accessible to scholars in this country, and because I have myself been compelled to work chiefly at them, using the former in a transcript begun for me by a Turk named 'Arif

Bey and concluded by Mawlawí Muḥammad Barakatu'lláh, and the latter in the original, which the authorities of the India Office Library, with their usual liberality, placed at my disposal.

I now proceed to an enumeration (which makes no pretence to completeness) of the principal European MSS., adding to those of Paris a brief description, which I deem unnecessary in the case of B.M. and I.O., since descriptions of these will be found in the respective catalogues of the institutions to which they belong.

PARIS.

1. *Ancien Fonds persan* 69 (= P¹).—The MS. used by d'Ohsson, and, before him, by Quatremère in compiling his notice of the author in vol. i of *Mines de l'Orient*, pp. 220–234 (Vienna, 1809). He correctly describes it as “un petit in-folio, contenant 189 feuillets (each of 25 lines), et qu'on a achevé de copier le deuxième jour du mois de Moharrem, A.H. 938 (= August 16, A.D. 1531). L'écriture en est mauvaise, et présente un assez grand nombre de fautes de copiste.” I may add that this MS. is complete, was transcribed by one named *Ḥabā'ī*, and contains many marginal notes and collations. It is written in *nasta'liq* which I should describe as fairly good.

2. *Supplément persan* 205 (= P²).—A beautiful old MS. dated A.H. 689 (A.D. 1290), comprising ff. 176 of 27 lines. It is a large volume (measuring, if I recollect aright, about 10 × 8 inches), and is carefully written in a fine, large, archaic *naskhī* hand, which is, however, not always easy to read.

3. *Supplément persan* 206 (= P³).—This MS., dated A.H. 841 (A.D. 1437–8), contains ff. 188, is written in a good *naskhī* hand, with rubrications, and is embellished with six miniatures. I did not compare its contents throughout with the other MSS., but it is incomplete at the end, and seems to lack the whole, or at least the greater part, of vol. i. There is also a dislocation or lacuna between ff. 41 and 42.

The following MSS. belonged to the late M. Charles Schefer, whose wonderful collection of Oriental manuscripts passed entire to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

4. *Supplément persan* 1375 (= P⁴ = Pers. 68 of the Schefer Collection).—A fine old complete copy (ascribed by the cataloguer of the Schefer MSS. to the fifteenth century of our era), written in a clear and excellent *naskhi* hand, and comprising ff. 234. There is, however, between ff. 215 and 216, an extensive lacuna, corresponding with ff. 155*a*, l. 12–165*a*, l. 24, of P².

5. *Supplément persan* 1556¹ (= P⁵ = Pers. 240 of the Schefer Collection).—A moderately good MS. (ascribed to the fourteenth century of our era) containing ff. 264 (220 written). The writing is rather scratchy and illegible, and the first leaf is supplied in a modern Turkish hand.

6. *Supplément persan* 1563 (= P⁶ = Pers. 24 of the Schefer Collection).—A quite modern MS., dated A.H. 1259 (A.D. 1843–4), comprising ff. 199 of 17 ll., the text written in a good, clear *ta'liq*, the verses cited in large, clear *naskhi* and in red or blue ink. This ends early in vol. iii with the Proclamation announcing the destruction of the Assassins' stronghold of Alamút, omitting the whole account of the Isma'ílí sect which should follow this. On f. 168*a* (the end of vol. ii, here wrongly called the end of vol. i) is a colophon stating that the MS. was copied from an original dated A.H. 659 (A.D. 1261).

In point of excellence I should place these six MSS. in the following order:—P², P⁴, P¹, P⁶, P⁵, P³.

LONDON.

7. Or. 155 of the British Museum (= B.M.).—This is defective in several places, especially at the beginning of vol. i, where some nine or ten chapters are wanting, and there are also several dislocations, while the text is far from correct. It is quite modern (A.H. 1277 = A.D. 1860–1), but professes to have been copied from an original dated A.H. 658 (= A.D. 1260).

8. No. 1914 (= 170 of Ethé's Catalogue) of the India Office.—In this also five or six chapters are wanting at the beginning, three (including the conquest of Bukhárá and Samarqand and the revolt of Tárábí) a little further on, and the end of vol. ii and beginning of vol. iii. There are also several dislocations, the proper order of the existing portions being ff. 1-17 (*lacuna*), 93-180, 18-93, 180-236 (the end). It ends with Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí's Appendix (referred to on p. 28 *supra*), was transcribed in A.H. 1076 (= A.D. 1665-6), and is written in a slovenly *ta'liq*, with rubrications and some marginal notes and references.

OXFORD.

9. *Fraser* 154 (= No. 146 of Ethé's Catalogue) of the Bodleian, not dated, but described by Ethé as "a very old and good copy."

10. *Ouseley Add.* 44 (= No. 145 of Ethé's Catalogue) of the Bodleian, also not dated.

MANCHESTER.

11. No. 814 of Lord Crawford's Collection, which, formerly so generously placed at the disposal of scholars, has now passed into the hands of Mrs Rylands, where it has hitherto proved inaccessible. It is said to date from about A.D. 1700.

GOTHIA.

12. No. 33 Persian (= No. 28 of Aumer's Catalogue), dated A.H. 799 (= A.D. 1396-7), and described as written in a cursive hand.

LEYDEN.

13. Cod. 1185 Warner.—A modern copy made by a European, and partly collated by Warner, A.D. 1662.

VIENNA.

14. N.F. 217 (= 956 of Flügel's Catalogue). — This, containing only the first half of the work, is said to have been copied from a MS. in the Library of Sultán Báyezíd at Constantinople, in A.H. 1249 (= A.D. 1833-4).

CONSTANTINOPLE.

In the Constantinople Catalogues I have found mention of four more copies, viz., Amúja Husayn Páshá, No. 359; As'ad Efendi, No. 2106; Hamídiyya Turbési (Lálá Isma'íl Efendi's bequest), No. 336, and Sultán Muḥammad Fátih, No. 4316.

I shall now give, in the form of a concordance, the collation of the six Paris MSS., *B.M.*, and *I.O.*, indicating alike the headings of the chapters into which the book is divided, and the place in each MS. where each chapter begins.

VOL. I: HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS.

The work opens, as usual, with a Doxology, beginning:—

سپاس و ثنا معبودی راست که واجب الوجود است الخ

This Doxology is followed by a short introductory section, headed *Faṣl*, and beginning:—

پیش از عهد دولت و خروج جنگز خان الخ

After this follow the chapters into which the book is divided (here numbered for more convenient reference, but not so numbered in any of the MSS.), in all eighty-six, or thereabouts, whereof Nos. 1-40 constitute the *first* volume, Nos. 41-71 the *second*, and Nos. 71-86 the *third*. The titles of each section, with my ordinal numbers prefixed, are given to the right of the page, and the collation of the eight MSS. (so far as I had time to make it during my visit to Paris, for it is not complete) on the left.

TITLES OF CHAPTERS.								
P ¹ .	P ² .	P ³ .	P ⁴ .	P ⁵ .	P ⁶ .	B.M.	I.O.	
21b	16b		18a		20b		7b	۱۰، ذکر امام شهید علاء الدین الختنی ،
23a	17b		19b		22a		10a	۱۱، ذکر استخلاص نواحی المالیغ و قیالیغ و فولاد و احوال امرای آن ،
24a	18b		20b		22b		11a	۱۲، ذکر سبب قصد مملکت سلطان ،
25a	19b		22a		24a		12b	۱۳، ذکر توجه خان جهان کشای بممالک سلطان و استخلاص اترار ،
	20b		23a		25a		16b	۱۴، ذکر توجه الش [الوش ^۱] ایدی بجند و استخلاص آن حدود ،
27b	21b		24b		27a		14a	۱۵، ذکر استخلاص فناکت و خجند و احوال تهور ملک ،
28b	22b		26a		28b		4b	۱۶، ذکر استخلاص ما وراء النهر بر سیل اجمال ،
29a	23a		26b		30a		5b	۱۷، ذکر استخلاص بخارا ،

¹ Here begins the extract given in vol. ii (pp. 105-169) of Schefer's *Chrestomathie persane*.

TITLES OF CHAPTERS.

P ¹ .	P ²	P ³ .	P ⁴ .	P ⁵ .	P ⁶ .	B.M.	I.O.	
32a	25b	30b	30a	32a	11b			۱۸ ' ذکر خروج تاریابی
34a	27a	32a		34a	14b			۱۵ ' ذکر استخلاص سمرقند
35b	29a	34a		36a	18a		93a	۲۰ ' ذکر واقعه خوارزم
37b	30b	36a		38a	21b			۲۱ ' ذکر حرکت جنکز خان بجانب بخشب و تروند
37b	30b	36b		38b	22a		96a	۲۲ ' ذکر عبور جنکز خان بر معبر تروند و استخلاص بلخ
38b	31b	37b		39b	23b		97a	۲۳ ' ذکر توجه جنکز خان بحرب سلطان
39b	32a	38b		40b	25a		98b	۲۴ ' ذکر مراجعت جنکز خان
								۲۵ ' ذکر رفتن نژیای [تورتای P ⁴] تقشی بطلب سلطان جلال الدین
40a	33a	39b		41b	26a		99b	۲۶ ' ذکر رفتن یکه و سُبَای [P ⁴ سنای] بر عقب سلطان محمد
40a	33a	39b		41b	26b		99b	
41b	34a	41b		43a	29a		101b	۲۷ ' ذکر استخلاص تولی خراسان را بر سیل اجمال
	35a	42a	42a	43b	30a		102b	۲۸ ' ذکر احوال مرو و کیفیت واقعه آن

46b	38b	47b	47a	48b	37b	109b	۲۹ ، ذکر واقعه نیشابور ^۱
49a	40b	50b		51b	41b	112b	۳۰ ، ذکر جلوس پادشاه جهان قآن در مسند خانی و دست جهان بانی ،
51b	43a	53b	53b	55a	46a	116b	۳۱ ، ذکر حرکت پادشاه جهان قآن بجانب ختای و فتح آن ،
52b	44a	55a	54a	56a	47b	118a	۳۲ ، ذکر قوریلنای دوم ،
54a	45b	56b	55b	58a	50a	120a	۳۳ ، ذکر صادرات افعال قان ،
63b	54b	69b	67a		66a	134b	۳۴ ، ذکر منازل و مراحل قان ،
64b	55b	71a	68b		67b	135b	۳۵ ، ذکر توراکینا خاتون ،
65b	56b	72b	70a	73a	69b	137b	۳۶ ، ذکر فاطمه خاتون ،
66b	57b	73b	71a		71a	138b	۳۷ ، ذکر جلوس کیول خان در چهار بالش خانی ،

¹ Here ends the extract given in vol. ii (pp. 105-169) of Schefer's *Chrestomathie persane*.

TITLES OF CHAPTERS.					
P ¹ .	P ² .	P ³ .	P ⁴ .	P ⁵ .	P ⁶ .
					نذكر احوال اغول غایمیش [غایمیش P ⁴]
69b	60b		78a	78b	و پسران او،
					نذكر توشی و احوال [او P ⁴] و جلوس باتو
70b	61b		79b	79a	بموضع او،
71a	62a		80a	80b	نذكر استخلاص بلغار و حدود آن و روس،
71b	62a		80b	80b	نذكر خیل کلار باشغرد،
71b	62b		81a	81a	نذكر چغتای،
No break.	63b		82b	79b	No break.
					End of Vol. I.

TITLES OF CHAPTERS.					
P ¹ .	P ² .	P ³ .	P ⁴ .	P ⁵ .	P ⁶ .
					نذكر مبداء دولت سلاطین خوارزم انار الله
72a	64b		83a	83a	براهینهم،

Vol. II: HISTORY OF THE KHWARAZM SHAHS.

TITLES OF CHAPTERS.

P ¹ .	P ² .	P ³ .	P ⁴ .	P ⁵ .	P ⁶ .	I.O.	
84a	74b		96b	96a	102a	164b	٢٤ ' ذکر جلوس سلطان علاء [قطب P ⁴] الدین محمد بن خوارزمشاه ' ٢٥ ' ذکر مسلم شدن ملوک سلاطین غور سلطان محمدرا ' ٢٦ ' ذکر احوال خرمیل بعد از مراجعت سلطان ٢٧ ' ذکر کنزی [کرلی P ⁴] و عاقبت کار او ' ٢٨ ' ذکر استخلاص مازندران و کرمان ٢٩ ' ذکر استخلاص ما وراء النهر ' ٣٠ ' ذکر مراجعت سلطان باردوم جهنگ کورخان ٣١ ' ذکر استخلاص فیروز کوه و غزنین ' ٣٢ ' ذکر خانان قراخانی و احوال خروج و استئصال ایشان ' ٣٣ ' ذکر احوال خرمیل بعد از مراجعت سلطان
88a	77b		101a	96b	108a	170a	
89b	78b		103a		110b	172a	
90b	79b		104a	103a	112a	173b	
91b	80b		105b	104b	114a	175b	
92a	81a		106a	105a	114b	175b	
94a	83a		109a	107b	118a	179a	
95a	83b		110a	108b	119b	180a	
95b	84b		110b	105a	120b	18a	

TITLES OF CHAPTERS.						
P ¹ .	P ² .	P ³ .	P ⁴ .	P ⁵ .	P ⁶ .	I.O.
97b	87a		113a	.	111b	124a
						ذکر بقیة احوال سلطان سعید محمد و اختلال کاراو، ۵۳
104b	94a	52b	123a	115b	Lacuna of ff. 5 or 6. 136a	
	94b		124a	116a		ذکر موجبات وحشتی که سلطان محمدرضا با امیر المؤمنین الناصر لدین الله ابو العباس احمد افتاده بود، ۵۴
	95a	54b	125b		139a	34a
110a	99b	60a	131a	122	122a	146a
						ذکر استئصال سلطان سلاطین و سبب آن، ۵۵
112b	101b	63b	134b		125a	150a
						ذکر احوال جلال الدین، ۵۶
113b	102b	65b	136b		126b	152a
						ذکر احوال او در هندوستان، ۵۷
116a	105b	70a	140a		130b	156b
						ذکر حرکت سلطان جلال الدین بجانب بغداد، ۵۸
117b	106b	71b	142a		132a	158b
						ذکر احوال سلطان و گرجیان و قمع ایشان، ۵۹
119a	108a	74a	144a		134a	161a
						ذکر مراجعت سلطان با گرجستان، ۶۰
						ذکر حرکت سلطان با خلط و فتح آن، ۶۱
						ذکر حرکت سلطان بحرب سلطان روم، ۶۲

TITLES OF CHAPTERS.

P ¹ .	P ² .	P.	P ⁴ .	P ⁵ .	P ⁶ .	B.M.	I.O.	
121b	108b	78b	148b	136b	138a	166b		۴۳، ذکر یمین [امین P ⁴] ملک و اشراق و عاقبت کار ایشان ،
122b	112a	80b	150a	139b	139b	168b	56b	۶۴، ذکر والد سلطان ترکان خاتون ،
123b	112b		151b	140b	140b	170a	57b	۶۵، ذکر احوال سلطان غیاث الدین ،
125b	114b		154b	143b	143b	173a	60b	۶۶، ذکر استخلاص نواحی کرمان [و احوال براق حاجب P ⁴] ،
127a	116b		157b	145b	145b	176b	63a	۶۷، ذکر جنتمور و قبولیت او خراسان و ماردرداران را ،
128b	118a		159b	147b	147b	179b		۶۸، ذکر نوسال ،
129a	118a		159b	148a	148a	179b	65a	۶۹، ذکر کورکوز [کورکور P ⁴] ،
132a	121b		164b			185b	69b	۷۰، ذکر وصول کورکوز بخراسان و احوال او ،
133b	122b		166b		154a	188a	71a	۷۱، ذکر احوال امیر ارغون ،
135b	125a		170a		157a	192a	74a	۷۲، ذکر توجه امیر ارغون بغوریلنای بزرگ ،
138b	128a		174b			197b	78b	۷۳، ذکر احوال شرف الدین خوارزمی ،
	133b		182b			168a		

End of Vol. II.

VOL. III: HISTORY OF THE ASSASSINS.

TITLES OF CHAPTERS.							
P ¹ .	P ² .	P ³ .	P ⁴ .	P ⁵ .	P ⁶ .	B.M.	I.O.
	[135 <i>b</i>] ¹		185 <i>b</i>			208 <i>b</i>	ذکر احوال حکمن و استئصال او ، ۷۴
146 <i>b</i>	[136 <i>a</i>]		186 <i>a</i>		[172 <i>a</i>]	209 <i>b</i>	183 <i>a</i> ذکر جلوس منکو قان ، ۷۵
							ذکر نموداری از محاسن ذات منکو قان بعد از
157 <i>b</i>	147 <i>a</i>		203 <i>a</i>		[187 <i>b</i>]	228 <i>b</i>	? 182 <i>a</i> استقرار او بر سریر ملک ،
158 <i>a</i>	[147 <i>b</i>]		203 <i>b</i>			229 <i>b</i>	ذکر اوکان خان ، ۷۷
	148 <i>a</i>		205 <i>a</i>				{ ذکر تعیین کردن پادشاه زادگان بممالک عالم (P ²) ، ۷۸
							{ ذکر حرکت پادشاه جهان هولاکو ببلاد غربی (P ⁴) ، ”
[161 <i>b</i>]	150 <i>b</i>		205 <i>b</i>		[192 <i>a</i>]	230 <i>b</i>	184 <i>a</i> ذکر حرکت پادشاه جهان هولاکو بفتح قلعه ملاحده ، ۷۹
[162 <i>b</i>]	151 <i>b</i>		210 <i>b</i>				190 <i>a</i> ذکر فتح نامه الموت ، ۸۰
							ذکر تقریر مذاهب باطنیان و اسماعیلیان
167 <i>a</i>	156 <i>a</i>		Lacuna		End of MS.	244 <i>b</i>	197 <i>b</i> ذکر جماعت مذکور ، ۸۱ و احوال

¹ In what follows, the brackets in which certain numbers are enclosed indicate that the section begins on that page, but has no separate title in the manuscript referred to.

P ¹ .	P ² .	P ³ .	P ⁴ .	P ⁵ .	P ⁶ .	B.M.	I.O.	TITLES OF CHAPTERS.
171b	160a		Lacuna			252a	204b	' ذکر محضر مهدی مقدوح ' ۸۲
173b	161b		"			255a	207b	' ذکر نسب حسن صباح و احوال او ' ۸۳
178b	166b		218b					' ذکر ولادت حسن بن محمد بزرگ امید (P ²) ' ۸۴
								' ذکر احوال پسر حسن بجای پدرش و رفع تکالیف ' ۸۵
186a	[173b]		228b			271a		شریعت اسلام (P ⁴)
187a	[175a]		230b					' ذکر احوال رکن الدین خورشاه بعد از وفات پدرش ' ۸۵
	[176a]		232a					' ذکر قلاع رکن الدین بعد از نزول او (P ⁴) ' ۸۶
189a	176b						234a	' ذکر احوال رکن الدین و انتهای کار ایشان (P ⁴) ' ۸۷
								<i>End of Vol. III.</i>

—236a APPENDIX ON SACK OF BAGHDAD IN I.O.

The concluding words of the text (not regarding the Appendix) are:—

' وذلک ذکرى للذاکرىن وذلک یفعل الله بالظالمین '

The number and titles of chapters vary considerably in the different MSS. Except when otherwise indicated, I have chiefly followed the oldest MS., P².

III.

ETRUSCAN AND DRAVIDIAN.

By STEN KONOW, of the University of Christiania, Norway.

THE remarks which follow are based on notes which I have made in reading Professor Torp's *Etruskische Beitrage*, vols. i-ii (Leipzig, 1902-3). I have never myself studied the Etruscan language, and my knowledge of Dravidian is rather limited. I was, however, at once struck by the apparent analogy of several features in both families, and I have thought it worth while to arrange my notes and make a short abstract of them. I do not think that I have solved the vexed question about the origin of the old inhabitants of Etruria. But I hope to have shown that there are many interesting points in which their language follows the same principles as that of the Dravidas, and that I have, in so doing, added something to the probability of the theory that the old Etrurians did not belong to the Indo-European stock.

There are, in the first place, a few words in the Etruscan texts which look very much like words with the same meaning in Dravidian languages. It is possible that their number might be increased by Dravidian scholars. I have noted the following cases.

The verb *ama* or *ma*, is, might be compared with the base *mā*, to be, to become, in Gōṇḍī. The conjunctive participle of this verb is *māsi* or *māsu*. Can the word *masu* on the Cippus Perusinus be translated in a similar way?

There seems to be no doubt that the Etruscan verb *turu* means 'gave' or 'having given.' A base *tara*, to give, is common in Dravidian languages. Compare Tamil *tara*, to give. If *θes* and *θuves* are derived from the same base, and mean 'gave,' we may compare Brāhūī *tis*, he gave.

Professor Torp explains the base *cer* or *ceri* in *cerixu*, etc., as meaning 'to erect,' 'to construct.' A base *kar*, to make, occurs in Brāhūi. In other Dravidian languages we find forms such as *kiā* (Gōṇḍī), *chēya* (Telugu), *śeya* (Tamil), and so on.

Cal is usually explained as 'tomb.' I do not know whether it is possible to compare Dravidian *kal*, a stone. It might further be possible to compare *tiv*, month, with Brāhūi *tūbē*, Tamil *tiṅgal*, moon; *zivai* on the Lemnos inscription, if this word really means 'dead,' with Tamil *śāvu*, Canarese *sāyu*, die.

The formation and inflexion of words is of greater importance, and it is here possible to point out several features where the Dravidian languages furnish striking parallels to Etruscan.

Professor Torp thinks that the termination *eua* or *χva* is a formative suffix (*Etruskische Beiträge*, i, 24). A suffix *gu* is quite common in Dravidian languages. Compare Tamil *nangu*, goodness, from *nal*, good; *paḍa-gu*, a boat; *kira-ngu*, a root, etc. The word *Telugu* seems to be formed by adding this suffix to *tele*, clear.

The suffix *gu* is often changed to *śu* or *chchu* in Tamil, and this suffix is often used to form verbs. Compare *kāychchu*, to boil, from *kāy*, hot. In a similar way Professor Torp thinks that an *s*-suffix is used in order to form denominatives in Etruscan.

The word *etnaχ* seems to mean something like 'offering,' and to be related to *etnam*. Compare Torp, l.c., i, pp. 42 and 82. According to the same authority, Etruscan nouns are frequently formed by adding a suffix *am* or *um*. It should not, therefore, be necessary to explain *mexl(rasnal)*, (l.c., p. 49), as an abbreviation of the common *mexlum* or *methlum*. Now it is a well-known fact that a suffix *am* is very frequently used in the formation of Dravidian nouns. Compare Tamil *nil-am*, ground, from *nil*, stand; Old Canarese and Tamil *mar-am*, a tree, etc.

There are, on the whole, a great number of derivative suffixes in the Dravidian languages, and some of them, such

as *al* and *ar*, might be compared with similar Etruscan suffixes. I shall, however, only draw attention to one suffix more, viz, the *n*-suffix, which is frequently used in the formation of Dravidian adjectives. A suffix *na* is quite common in Telugu, where it is used in order to form relative participles from gerunds or conjunctive participles. Thus, *chēsi*, having done; *chēsi-na*, who has done; *chēsina-vāḍu*, one who has done. Compare Tamil forms, such as *pōna*, who has gone; *āna*, who has become, and so forth. A similar suffix seems to occur in Etruscan. Compare *ras-na*, Etruscan; *nes-na*, the dead one (according to Torp, ii, 19, a feminine), etc. See Torp, ii, 69.

I shall now turn to the inflexion of nouns, and point out some features in which Etruscan seems to agree with the Dravidian languages.

We do not know much about the distinction of genders in Etruscan. In the Dravidian languages all nouns can be divided into two classes, such as denote rational and irrational beings respectively. The natural gender is only distinguished in the case of the former class. One of the feminine suffixes used for that purpose is *i*. Thus, Tamil *taleivi*, a lady; *taleivan*, a lord; Gōṇḍi *perdgi*, a girl; *perdgal*, a boy. The *i*-suffix is perhaps borrowed from Sanskrit. It might, however, also be compared with the Etruscan suffix *i* in feminine names. Professor Torp (ii, 19 f.) thinks that the same suffix is occasionally also used in the case of other nouns.

The plural in Dravidian languages is formed by means of various suffixes. Rational nouns add *ar* or similar forms, while the common suffix of irrational nouns is *gal* in Tamil, *lu* in Telugu. Other dialects have various forms of this suffix, such as *k*, *ng*, *sk*, *l*, and so on. A third plural suffix is *vei*, *va*, or similar forms. Compare Tamil *manidar*, men; *viḍu-gal*, houses; *porula-vei*, substances; Telugu *gurramu-lu*, horses. It should be noted that the various suffixes are constantly confounded, so that, for instance, Telugu no more uses the rational plural ending in *ar* in ordinary nouns, while the same suffix in other dialects is occasionally added to nouns denoting irrational beings. In many cases also the plural is not distinguished from the singular, and the number must be inferred from the context.

Professor Torp has in his *Etruskische Beiträge* tried to show that exactly the same suffixes, and no others, are used in Etruscan.

The *r*-suffix occurs in words such as *clen-ar*, sons; *cepar*, which Torp explains as the plural of *cepen* (compare Tamil *manidan*, man; *manidar*, men), and many other words. *Aisar*, God, might be an honorific plural; compare Tamil *Dēvar*, God.

An *l*-suffix seems to occur in *murs-l*, urns. Compare Bugge, *Etruskische Forschungen und Studien*, iv, 89. Torp thinks that *murs-l* is simply identical with *murs*.

According to Torp, a plural suffix *ua* occurs in *murz-ua* and other words (i, 89).

And lastly, the singular may also be used without any addition as a plural. Compare Torp, i, p. 96.

With regard to case suffixes, we may note the Etruscan locative suffixes *θ*, *θi*, *t*, *ti*, *e*, *ni*, and perhaps *u*. Similar suffixes are often met with in Dravidian languages. Compare Kōlāmī *t*, Tuḷu *ḍ*, *tu*, *ḥ*, Gōṇḍī *te*, *ne*, *e*; Brāhūī *ḥi*, Kurux *nū*, Malto *no*, *nihī*, Telugu *na*, *lō*, *lōnu*, and so forth. It is of no interest for the present question whether the initial consonant in the Dravidian suffixes belongs to the suffix or to the oblique base, a question which cannot, in most cases, be decided.

The genitive suffix *al* can perhaps be compared with the suffix which forms locatives and ablatives in many Dravidian languages. Thus, Tamil *il*, *āl*, Canarese *alli*, Gōṇḍī *āl*, and so forth. The genitive in Dravidian languages is, however, usually an adjective, and the most common suffix is *a*. An *a* is also often added to the genitive suffixes in Etruscan.

Also with regard to numerals there is at least one point in which Etruscan seems to agree with Dravidian languages. Professor Torp has (i, pp. 70 ff.) made it highly probable that an *em* can be inserted between two numerals in order to show that the first should be subtracted from the second. Now this is exactly what we find to be the case in Dravidian languages, where, at least, the numeral 'nine' is formed in

such a way. And the subtraction is here indicated by means of the same *m* or *em* as in Etruscan. Compare Tamil *ômbadu*, Korvî *om-bidi*, Canarese *om-bhattu*, Kota *or-m-patu*, Telugu *tom-midi*, nine. Now 'ten' is *pattu*, *padu*, *padi*, or similar forms. The common form for 'one' is *oru*, neuter *onđu*. Kota *or-m-patu* clearly shows that the numeral 'nine' is formed by inserting *m* between 'one' and 'nine.' It is possible that the initial *t* in Telugu *tommidi* originally belongs to the numeral 'one.' If that should be the case, the Dravidian numeral 'one' would agree with *θu*, which, according to Professor Torp, means 'one' in Etruscan.

In this connection we may also note that the suffix *ar*, which is usually a plural suffix, is occasionally added to numerals. Thus, *zel-ar*, from *zal*, two, and *ša-r*, from *ša*, four. Is it possible to compare Dravidian forms such as *iru-var*, two; *nāl-var*, four?

The *em* which is used in order to indicate a subtraction is, of course, quite different from the suffix *m* which means 'and.' Tamil has a suffix *um*, and, which might be compared with the latter.

With regard to pronouns, it should seem possible to compare *ena*, we, with Tamil *ēn*, I; *ēm*, we; *tu*, that, with Telugu *ata-đu*, that; *eca*, this, with the Dravidian *i*, this (compare the suffix *kā* in Kuruḡ *ē-kā*, what?, where the base is *ē* as in other Dravidian languages); *an*, that, with Tamil *avan*, that, and so forth.

I shall now turn to the Etruscan verb, and try to show that, in several features, it follows the same principles as those prevailing in Dravidian languages.

The imperative is in both families identical with the base. A suffix *θ* is sometimes added in Etruscan. Similarly, a suffix *!h* is sometimes used in Brāhūi, while a corresponding suffix *tu* in Kui and *ṭ* in Gōṇḍi denotes the plural.

The finite tenses in Dravidian languages are participles, or formed from participles by adding personal suffixes. The personal suffixes were not originally necessary, and they are not used in Malayālam. In other dialects they are also frequently dropped.

The Etruscan verb does not appear to distinguish person and number, just as is the case in Malayālam. It is, of course, possible that further research will show that Etruscan uses personal terminations (compare *sta-s*, *θe-s*, *ziχu-n*), but, so far as we can now see, Etruscan in this respect agrees with Malayālam.

In Malayālam a form such as *vannu* may mean 'having come' and 'came.' Similarly, the Etruscan *turnu* is sometimes a participle and sometimes a past tense. Such forms are occasionally also used as surnames, i.e. probably as nouns of agency or relative participles. We may, perhaps, compare Kurux *esnu*, breaking; *esus*, a breaker.

The past tense in Dravidian languages is formed by means of two different suffixes, *i* and a suffix which occurs in various forms such as *t*, *nt*, *ch*, *s*, and *k*. *K* is used in Kurux, Malto, and Brāhūi, and is probably the original form of the suffix.

Professor Torp has made it probable that the Etruscan past tense is formed by adding *e* or *ce*, *χe*. Thus, *turē* and *turce*, gave. Compare, e.g., Kurux *eskan*, I broke; *es'as*, he broke; *eskas bē'edas*, he has broken, from *es-nā*, to break.

In addition to *turnu*, *turce*, we apparently also find forms such as *turuncē*, gave. If it is allowed to draw any conclusions from the Dravidian languages, such forms are derived from adjectives formed from the conjunctive participle *turnu*, having given. Compare Telugu *chēsi*, having done; *chēsina*, who did; *chēsinaḍu* or *chēsina*, he did. Forms such as *turuncē*, gave, are perhaps double forms. The Tamil suffix of the past tense, however, has also often an *n* prefixed to it.

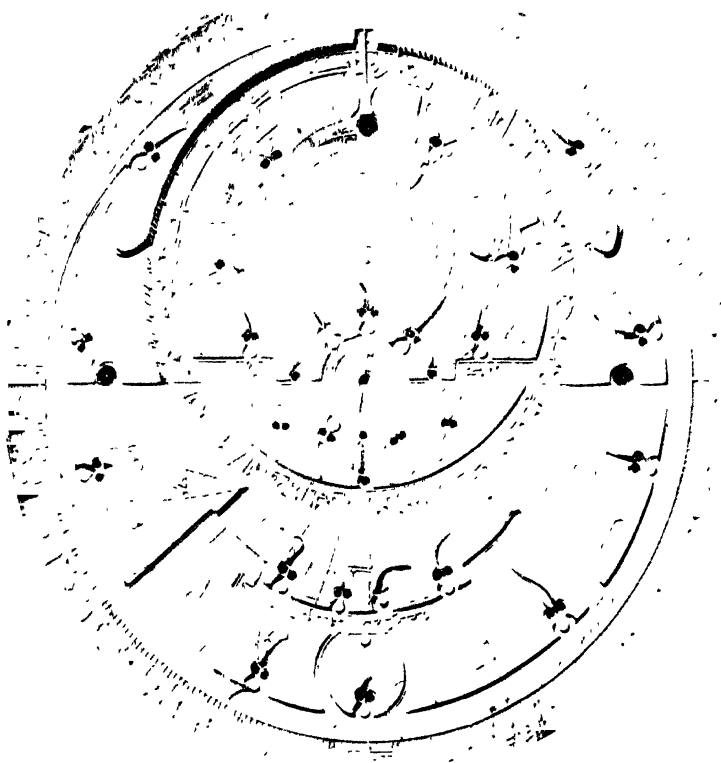
Causatives are apparently formed in Etruscan by adding a suffix *θ*. Compare *cesu*, repose; *ceseθce*, placed. A causative suffix *t* is well known in Dravidian languages. Compare Tamil *paḍutta*, to lay down, from *paḍa*, to lie; Kurux *estā'anā*, to cause to break, from *esnā*, to break.

Finally, I shall draw attention to the use of *vacl*, *vacil* in the same way as the Sanskrit *iti*, and to the apparent absence of negative particles.

Vael may be a participle of the same kind as Tamil *āg-il*, if you say, and it is the rule in Dravidian languages, to add a participle meaning 'having said' when a direct quotation of the words of another has been made. It seems to me that it is more probable that Sanskrit has adopted this peculiarity from the Dravidas than that the opposite should be the case.

The apparent absence of negative particles in the Etruscan texts can easily be understood if we assume that the language, like those of the Dravidian family, has a separate negative conjugation which has not as yet been recognised.

I am convinced that further points of analogy might easily be found by those who know the languages in question better than I do. I do not think that they prove any immediate connection between Etruscan and the Dravidian family. But they seem to show that the structure of both agrees in important points, and they remind us how easily we are mistaken in looking out for languages related to a form of speech which is so unsatisfactorily known as Etruscan.



THE FRONT OF THE ASTROLABE

IV.

**A FIFTEENTH CENTURY PLANISPHERIC ASTROLABE,
MADE AT GRANADA.**

By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

IN 1903 I purchased from a dealer in the Khan al-Khalil, in Cairo, a brass Astrolabe inscribed with the Kufy character, which I had examined, haggled for, and reluctantly left three years before. The fact is, that at the present day this old bazaar of Cairo is the last place to find anything of interest. The European visitors are tourists who are personally conducted, and who purchase wildly and at any cost the gaudy modern stuff which the dragoman recommends. The dealers are Armenians and Jews solely catering for this trade; and it was, I presume, only from sheer dilatoriness that the dealer had not sent it down to one of his brethren near the Ezbekieh, where it would have been quickly disposed of. At any rate, it was out of place among the forgeries and rubbish which form the feature of the once romantic Khan al-Khalil.

Very few Oriental astrolabes have been fully described, and in the example before us there are features sufficiently unusual to merit record. The fact that the Arab inscriptions are in the Kufy character, shows indeed that the instrument is of some antiquity, but there is neither a date nor the maker's name upon it, so that it was not until I had deciphered all the inscriptions (no easy matter considering the ornate Kufy used) that I was in any position to ascertain either its place or period of manufacture.

A planispheric astrolabe such as this is made up of from seven to ten separate parts, according to the number of plates it contains. All the parts have special names both in Arabic and English.

The main part of the astrolabe is a disc of brass, in this case $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, one side of which is flat, while the other contains a depression to take the plates which we shall describe. Round this depression is a rim, and at one side there is a projection to which is attached two rings to suspend the instrument when in use. The brass disc is called the *um* (أم mother), the rim is the *hujrah* (حجرة), the projection *kursi* (كرسى i.e. throne), the first ring of the handle (*arwah*, عروة), and the outer one *halqa* (حلقة). To this again there was attached a cord (علافه *alaqah*).

Into the *um* fit several thin circular discs called the plates or tables (صفاح *safah*, plural *safaih*), in this case three in number. Over these is placed a skeleton plate called the net (rete), or spider (عنكبوت *ankabut*). All the plates have a central hole corresponding with one in the centre of the *um* (محل *mahan*), and all these parts are secured together by a pivot (قطب *qutb*), passed through from the back, a small flat ring (*fals* فلس), and a wedge which passes through the pivot on the front side and is known as the horse (فرس *faras*), because no doubt it supports and holds complete the instrument. On the pivot also, on the back, works the index or rule (*idadeh*, عضادة), a movable pointer, having at either end a small erect plate with a hole to take sight through. These plates are called the two tiles (لبنتان *libnatain*) and the holes or sights (ثقبه *thuqbah*).¹ The instrument we have before us is quite complete with the exception of the original pivot, wedge, and fals, which are replaced by modern ones.

The back of the astrolabe, called by the Arabs *zahr al-usturlab* (ظهر الاسطرلاب), is engraved with a number of concentric circles, and also by two cross lines which divide the disc into four quadrants. Of these the line which falls directly from the *kursi* is the south-north line (the south end

¹ "Thanne haslow a brod Rewle, pat hath on either ende a square plate perced with a certain holes, some more & some lesse, to resseyuen the stremes of the sonne by day, and ek by mediacioun of thyn eye, to knowe the altitude of sterres by nyght."—*Chaucer's Treatise*, pt. i, 13.

being at the *kursi*), and that at right angles the east and west line. These lines are not, however, continuous, as they would pass through the names and days of the months on the inner concentric circles.

The concentric circles are seven in number in the upper half of the back, and six in the lower.

Beginning, then, at the outer circle, we find the edge numbered from 5 to 90 by fives, zero being at the east and west points, and going to 90 under the *kursi*. These numbers represent the 90 degrees into which each quadrant of the circle can be divided. The two north quadrants are not filled up. The numeration here, as throughout the instrument, is indicated by the Arab letters with their numerical values, and not by Arabic numerals.

The remaining circles are complete. The first three contain the Zodiacal signs, and the thirty degrees into which each sign is divided, the inner of the three being divided into twelve compartments containing the names of the signs themselves; the next into seventy-two, each group of six being marked with letters ل كه ك يه ي ه having the values 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30; and the outer being actually divided into the thirty degrees for each sign, or 360 in the circle. The names of the Zodiac signs are the usual Arabic ones, as follows:—

الحمل	...	<i>al-hamal</i>	...	٧
الثور	...	<i>al-thur</i>	...	٨
الجوزا	...	<i>al-jauza</i>	...	١١
السرطان	...	<i>al-saratan</i>	...	١٤
الاسد	...	<i>al-asad</i>	...	١٥
السنبلة	...	<i>al-sunbalah</i>	...	١٦
الميزان	...	<i>al-mizan</i>	...	١٧
العقرب	...	<i>al-aqrab</i>	...	١٨
القوس	...	<i>al-qaus</i>	...	١٩
المجدي	...	<i>al-jadi</i>	...	٢٠

الدلو	...	<i>al-dalu</i>	...	♊
الحوت	...	<i>al-huut</i>	...	♋ ¹

The first sign ♊ is on the east line, its zero point coinciding with the zero point of the outer quadrant.

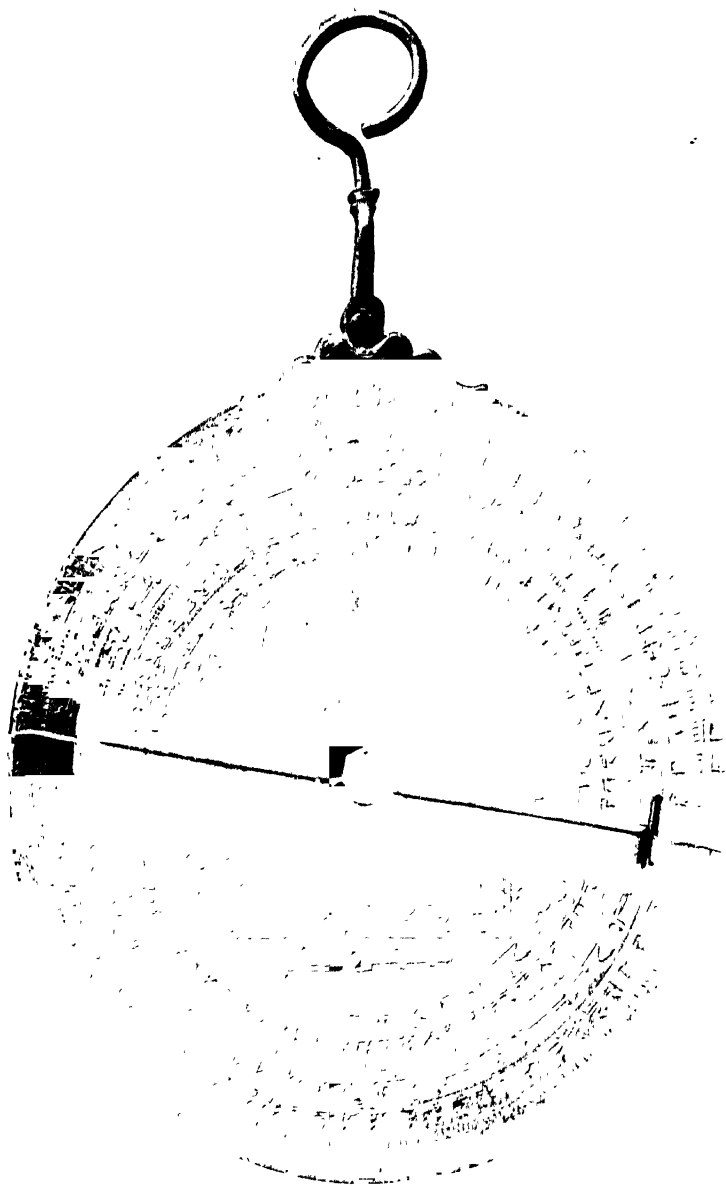
The three innermost circles again must be taken together. On the smallest circle are engraved the names of the Christian months, while the outer of the three contains points representing the actual number of days in each month, and the middle circle the letters enumerating the days in groups of five.

I reproduce this table as it gives the spelling of the months:—

ينير	...	<i>Yanyr</i>	...	31 days.
فبرير	...	<i>Febryr</i>	...	28 days.
مارس	...	<i>Mars</i>	...	31 days.
ابريل	...	<i>Abryl</i>	...	30 days.
مايه	...	<i>Maia</i>	...	31 days.
يونيه	...	<i>Yunya</i>	...	30 days.
يوليه	...	<i>Yulya</i>	...	31 days.
اغشت	...	<i>Agh(u)sht</i>	...	31 days.
شنتبر	{ <i>Shenteber</i> (or <i>Sheneber</i> ?) }			30 days.
اكتوبر	...	<i>Oktubr</i>	...	31 days.
نوفبر	...	<i>Nufeber</i>	...	30 days.
ذجنبر	...	<i>Thejenber</i>	...	31 days.

The beginning of January is placed about under the 19th degree of *al-jadi* (Capricorn), and, as we shall see later, the exact relative position of the month and Zodiac

¹ It will be observed that the three signs which with us are called by names signifying human beings are replaced in Arabic by words denoting inanimate objects. Thus, instead of Virgo we have *sunbalaah*, the ear of corn, *al-qaus*, the bow, not the bowman, and *al-dalu*, the bucket, not the bucket-carrier.



THE BACK OF THE ASTROLABE

circles is very important, as by this only, can we arrive at an approximate date for this particular instrument. Within these circles, and below the east and west line is a square table marked with the scales of umbra recta and umbra versa, divided and numbered 3, 6, 9, 12. The scales of umbra recta at the bottom are marked *مبسوط*, *mabsut*, 'extended' or 'flat,' and those of umbra versa at the sides *معكوس*, 'inverted.'¹ This square of the shadows was for taking and computing altitudes with. In the east-south quadrant there are further four arcs radiating from the centre of the disc and marked 1 to 6 respectively. I am not aware of the use of these arcs, which are not found in the instruments I have been able to refer to.

This completes the description of the back, and we will turn to the front, which will not take long. The *hujrah* or rim is about $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch wide, and is marked with two circles representing the 360 degrees of the quadrants, the inner circle being the degrees themselves, and the outer containing the enumeration in numerical letters.²

The inner side of the *um* itself is unfinished. It is marked with the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn and the Equinoctial line, and with the north-south and east-west lines and with circles of altitude. But there is no lettering, and we must turn to the plates themselves for an explanation.

The three plates or tables are each engraved on both sides, and one description will apply. They represent the usual projection of the sphere varied only for the particular latitudes for which each was made. We have on each, the straight horizontal and perpendicular lines crossing each

¹ In a Persian astrolabe in my possession the first is marked *مستوی* *mustawī*, which, I think, was the usual term. By the extended shadow the height of an accessible object may be taken by a single observation; of an inaccessible object by two observations. By the inverted shadow scale also, the height of an inaccessible object can be taken by two observations. See *Chaucer's Treatise*, i, 12; ii, 41, etc.

² In order to avoid the increasing size of the groups of letters necessary to denote the numerals to 360, a method of abbreviation is adopted, so that the actual numbers run as follows:—From the S. point from 5 by fives to 115, then 20 to 80 = 180 at N. Then 85 by fives to 95, then 200, then 5 to 70 = 270 at E. Then 75 by fives to 95, then 300, then 5 to 60 = 360 at S.

other at the centre hole, the last being the line of the midst of heaven, *خاط وسط السما* (*Khat wasit al-sama*), and the horizontal line the line of east and west, or the level line, *Khat al-mashriq wa al-mughrib* or *Khat istawa*.

The three concentric circles are the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn (*Madar ras al-saratain* and *Madar ras al-jadi*), and between them the Equinoctial line (*Madar ras al-hamal*).

Each plate is further divided by a curved or oblique horizon separating the heaven above the earth from that beneath. Above this are thirty circles of altitude *المقنطرات* *الارتفاع*, numbered alternately (by sixes) from the end of the oblique horizon inwards, and from the end of the south-north line down towards the zenith (or *Samt al-ras*) at 90.¹

Each of these thirty circles therefore represents three degrees, and the instrument was a 'thalathi' (ثلثي) or tripartite one, in distinction to the complete or تام *tam* astrolabe, which had ninety circles, or the نصفى *nusfi* or bipartite, which had forty-five.²

The other arcs which radiate from the zenith and cross these are the arcs of azimuth (سموت), thirty-six in number, numbered from 10 to 90 in four batches.

Below the horizon we find twelve arcs radiating from Cancer and numbered 1 to 12, these being the planetary or temporal hours. And there are yet five other lines at unequal intervals, marked respectively فجر *fajr*, dawn, عصر *asr*, afternoon, ظهر *dohr*, noon, زوال *saral*, early declination of sun after noon, and شفق *shafaq*, evening twilight (or after-glow). Although some of these mark the time for Moslem prayer, their use may have only been for ascertaining the time by observation.

The segmental space between Cancer and the oblique horizon is in each case occupied by an inscription denoting

¹ Only on one projection is the numeration completed down to 90. In the others it stops about 60, since the space for engraving is very crowded.

² There were also sexpartite and quinquapartite instruments.

the latitude at which the plate may be used, and in some cases the name of a town is added. These are as follows:—

PLATE I.

(a) لعرض غرناطة و لكل بلد عرضه لزل

“The latitude of Granada and of all towns whose latitude is $37^{\circ} 30'$.”

(b) لعرض ل

“Latitude 30° ” (? for Cairo or Busrah).

PLATE II.

(a) لعرض كام

مكة

“Latitude $21^{\circ} 40'$.”

“Mekka.”

(b) لعرض ليج م

فاس

“Latitude $33^{\circ} 40'$.”

“Fas.”

PLATE III.

(a) لعرض لول

“Latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$ ” (? Gibraltar or Oran).

(b) لعرض كه

“Latitude 25° ” (Medina?).¹

To complete the instrument we have the plate called the net (rete) or spider (عنكبوت), which is very decorative in appearance. It is a skeleton plate showing a plane projection of the heavens, and cut away so as to show an inner ring, which is the ecliptic circle marked with the Zodiac,

¹ As usual these latitudes are rough. Fas (Fez) is 34° ; Granada $37^{\circ} 8'$; Medina and Mecca are a little more correct.

منطقه البروج, signs and degrees, and an outer one, which is the Tropic of Capricorn. Within both circles are twenty-eight pointers, each set with silver knobs. These are called the *shaziehs* (شاذية), each marked with the Arabic name of a star, the position of which is actually indicated by its point. At the top of the Zodiac, between *al-jadi* and *al-gaus* (♈ and ♉), is a pointer called *al-muri*, and just under it is a silver knob, *al-mudir* (المدير), 'the governor,' with which this plate can be turned.

The following is a list of the fixed stars named on the *shaziehs*, the numbers being given on the diagram:—

Within the Zodiac (15):—

- (1) راس الحوا, *ras al-hawa*. The snake-catcher's head, α Serpentarii (*ras alhague*).
- (2) عنق الحية, *unuq al-hayyah*. The serpent's neck, α Serpentis.
- (3) طائر, *tayr* or *nasr al-tayr*. The vulture, α Aquilæ (*althayr*).
- (4) كعب فرس, *kaab faras*. Heel or breast of the horse—Pegasi.
- (5) ردف, *ridf*. The follower, α Cygni (*arrioph*).
- (6) واقع, (*nasr*) *uaki*. The falling vulture, α Lyræ (*Wega*).
- (7) فكة, (*munir*) *fakka*. The bright one of Fakka, α Coronæ Borealis (*alpheca*).
- (8) Unidentified. The name might read *farid*, but alphard (α Hydræ) is outside the Zodiac; see No. 19.
- (9) الرامح, (*simah*) *al-ramih*. The supporter of the spearman, α Bootes (*alramech*, Arcturus).
- (10) منكب فرس, *mankib faras*. The horse's shoulder (*scheat alpheratz*).
- (11) خصب, (*kaf al-*) *khasib*. The open or bountiful hand, β Cassiopeia.



To face p 60

- (12) غول, (*ras al-ghul*). The ghul's head, β Persei (*algol*).
 (13) حبيوق, *ayyuq*. The beauteous one, Capella β Aurigæ.
 (14) (Erased, probably *sahr al-dubh*, α Ursæ Majoris.)
 (15) رجل, *rijl (al-dubh)*. Leg of the bear, Ursæ Majoris.

Outside the Zodiac (13) :—

- (16) قلب عقرب, *qualb aqrab*. The scorpion's heart, α Scorpii (*antares*).
 (17) الاعزال, (*simak*) *al-azal*. The supporter of the unarmed, α (Spika) Virginis (*azimech*).
 (18) فس الكاس, *fas (ras ?) al-kas*. The crown (?) of the cup—Crateris.
 (19) سجاد, (*fard al-shajuh*). The solitary one of the serpent, α Hydræ (*alphard*).
 (20) العبور, (*Shary*) *al-abur*. α Canis Majoris, Sirius, the Dog Star (*alhabor*).
 (21) رجل الجوز, *rijl al-juz*. The foot of Jauza, β Orionis.
 (22) بطن قيطوس, *butn qitus*. The whale's belly, π (?) Ceti.
 (23) دنب قيطوس, *danab qitus*. The tail of the whale, β Ceti.
 (24) دنب جدی, *danab jadi*. The goat's tail, δ Capricorni.
 (25) دبران, (*al-debaran*), or the bull's eye, α Tauri.
 (26) منكب, *mankib*. The shoulder; query, if not properly *menkar*, α Ceti.
 (27) غميصا, (*al-gomeisa*). α Canis Minoris, Procyon.
 (28) Unidentified.¹

The 'idadeh' or rule is quite unornamented, the upright tiles fixed (not hinged), and in each there is one hole, not two as is often the case.

¹ Without some clue it is impossible to read numbers 8 and 28. Possibly a reference to Ideler, "Über die Sternamen," which I have not been able to see, would help.

Let us now see if the examination of this instrument enables us to arrive at any definite conclusions as to the place of origin and date of manufacture. The style of art and workmanship in Oriental instruments such as this, seldom affords much indication on these points; for, to begin with, the use of the archaic or Kufy character of Arabic, while abandoned at an early date for ordinary purposes, was sometimes retained in astrolabes and astronomical appliances until probably the sixteenth century, just as at the present day we retain 'Gothic' type or black-letter in certain sumptuous publications. The questions we have to answer about this astrolabe are :—

- (1) Where it was made.
- (2) When it was made.
- (3) For whom it was made.

For the first question we can find an answer at once, if we are satisfied that the plates are the original plates belonging to the instrument. The art and style are identical, and they were apparently made for the *um*, and probably by the same maker.

The plates are made for Granada (and places of the same latitude), for Mekka, Fez, Medina, and two other latitudes, so far south that they must be for use among Moslems.

The back of the astrolabe, however, has the Roman or Christian, not the Moslem months. While, therefore, the plates seem to show that the instrument was made for a Moslem (since Mekka and Medina are included), the back indicates either that it was made by a Christian, or made in a city in which Christian influence was great, or else it was made to be used by someone speaking Arabic and professing Islam, yet who was sufficiently in contact with Christians to use the Roman months. Of all the places for which the plates were made, Granada alone fulfils these conditions, since it remained Moslem after the Moors had been expelled from the rest of Spain. The astrolabe, therefore, was made at Granada, and if the plates are the original ones, it was for a Moslem who used the Christian months—a condition

surprising to anyone at all familiar with the history and traditions of Islam. In the absence of any date on the instrument we must turn to the tables of the months, and the Zodiac, for an indication of its age. By an examination of these we can ascertain approximately the day and proportion of hours on which the sun entered the different signs when this astrolabe was made. The difference between these days and moments and the equivalent moments of the present time will give us an approximate date for the instrument itself.

Table showing the time on which the sun enters the signs, (a) on the Astrolabe, (b) in 1900 A.D. :—

	ON THE ASTROLABE.	IN 1900.
Sun enters Aries ..	March 14, c. 8 a.m. ..	21st, 2 a.m.
„ Taurus ..	April 13, c. noon	20th, 2 p.m.
„ Gemini ..	May 14, c. 10 a.m. ..	21st, 1 p.m.
„ Cancer ..	June 14, c. 4 p.m. ..	21st, 10 a.m.
„ Leo	July 15, c. 4 p.m. ..	23rd, 8 a.m.
„ Virgo ..	August 15, c. noon ..	23rd, 3 a.m.
„ Libra ..	September 15, c. 6 p.m. .	23rd, noon.
„ Scorpio ..	October 14-15, midnight.	23rd, 9 a.m.
„ Sagittarius	November 14, c. 8 a.m. ...	22nd, 6 a.m.
„ Capricornus	December 14, c. 8 a.m. ..	22nd, 7 a.m.
„ Aquarius ..	January 12-13, midnight	20th, noon.
„ Pisces ..	February 12, c. 8 a.m. ...	19th, 2 a.m.

Now, if we ascertain the difference in each month between the astrolabe and the year 1900, and then take the average, we find that this change works out at 7 days and 10 hours.

In Chaucer's description of the astrolabe he made the sun enter Aries early on March 12th, 1391, while in 1891 it entered the same constellation on March 20th at 4 a.m., which gives us a change of 8 days in 500 years.¹ A not very difficult calculation from these data will indicate a period of 458½ years before 1900 as the date of our instrument. This gives us A.D. 1441-2, which probably is a fairly approximate, though not an exact date. I do not indeed suppose it is really possible to fix a more exact date than about the middle of the fifteenth century.

We can then answer in a way all three questions. Our astrolabe was made at Granada in Spain, in the fifteenth century, somewhere about 1450, and probably for a Moslem. For an explanation of the curious problem raised by the use of the Roman months we can only look to the condition of Spain and the Sultanate of Granada at that date.

The position of the Mohammedans in Spain was from a much earlier date very different to that of other Mohammedan States, and it would seem from their treatment of the Jews that there was little religious intolerance. The Spanish Christians, even in the ninth century, were apeing the Mohammedans, studying Arabic literature, and despising and neglecting that in the Latin tongues. In the eleventh century, in the time of the 'Cid Campeador,' the mixture was so great that Christians were serving in the Mohammedan armies, and Moors among the troops of the Christians. Christians were fighting hand in hand with Moors against Christians. Moors were ravaging Moorish territory with Christians. The Cross had checked and was pressing back the Crescent, and heavy tribute was being paid by Moorish princes.

The Sultanate of Granada was the last stronghold of Islam in Spain, and was surrendered by Abu Abdallah or Boabdil (as he is called) to Ferdinand in 1491. Yet although at the beginning of the fifteenth century it was, and had long been

¹ The difference, however, "vibrates," as Mr. Skeat has pointed out. In 1871 it entered on March 21st, which was 9 days. Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. xvi, p. xlvii.

in open or covert hostility to the Christian monarchs, its position was a strange one for Islam. To the Moors of Granada at this time, the name of Christian must have carried respect, if not fear. Christianity, if hated, was not despised; and Granada was, indeed, frequently paying tribute—bribes, in actual fact—to stave off a little longer the evil day.¹

Granada itself was a place of great magnificence and a great centre both for art and science, and we may be sure that, however much the arrogance of Islam still inspired the Moslems of her Sultanate, there must have taken place between them and their Christian neighbours some exchange of manners and ideas, of industries and arts, before the gates of Al-hamra (the red) were flung open once for all.

How mixed these conditions were, there is much evidence to show. My friend Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum MSS. Department, tells me in a letter: "The condition of the peoples of Spain towards the time of the expulsion of the Moors is very complicated and puzzling. We find Arabic in use for official and business purposes, and even occasionally for literary composition, under the Christian States. On the other hand, Moslems of Spanish, as opposed to Arab or Moorish, origin very frequently wrote in 'Aljamia' (Spanish in the Arabic character), especially for purposes of popular instruction. At the same time there also exists a great quantity of official and legal documents in 'Aljamia' which are, I believe, all Christian."

Turning again to the astrolabe, we may notice that it has none of the tables of 'mansions' and 'triplicities' which are common on Arab instruments, and the use of which was chiefly astrological. As far as the back goes, it is exactly the same as the mediæval Christian instruments, except that it does not bear the circle of Saints' days and their Sunday letters. This part and the rete (without the plates) might have been made for an Arab-speaking Christian; but the plates were made for a Moslem at Granada. It is

¹ Mohammed X, in 1463, paid 12,000 gold ducats as a condition of peace.

therefore just possible that the maker constructed his instruments in one pattern and supplied the plates specially according to whether he sold them to Moslems or Christians. The instrument seems to be earlier than 1491, or else we might imagine that the Moslem months were abolished, though Moslems still lived in the kingdom. Another idea suggested by two friends is that it was made for a renegade, a Christian 'turned Turk.' But such an individual, who, as in all such cases, would have changed his religion from motives of interest rather than conviction, would be the last to wish to retain any evidence of his once having been a hated Nazarene. Your renegades are outwardly the most bigoted of fanatics; and I prefer to imagine that we have in this instrument evidence that a little before the conquest of Granada, the intercourse between the Moslems of that State and the neighbouring Christians was sufficiently great to have made the use of the Christian calendar not unusual, because of the convenience afforded in commercial and other relations.

V.

ON THE MODERN INDO-ARYAN ALPHABETS OF
NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

By GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (RETD.).

THE well-known Śāradā character of Kaśmīr is described by Bühler on p. 56 of his *Indische Palaeographie*. He points out that it is descended from the western variety of the Gupta type of alphabets, and notes that a modern variety of it is the so-called Ṭakkari of Jammū and the neighbourhood. Bühler does not, so far as I am aware, mention any other of the modern alphabets of north-western India.

The alphabet which Bühler calls 'Ṭakkari' is evidently the 'Ṭhākari' or 'Ṭākri' alphabet, which is, however, current over a much wider area than that stated by him. It is employed over the whole of the lower ranges of the Himālaya north of the Panjāb. How much farther east it extends I cannot say. Probably at least as far as Garhwāl and Kumāon. The variety of Ṭākri employed in Jammū is known as Ḍōgrī. It has been manipulated into another official character which is employed by Jammū officials. This official Ḍōgrī has very little currency in other circles. Ordinary Ḍōgrī and most of the other varieties of Ṭākri are very incomplete forms of script. Medial short vowels are usually omitted, and medial long ones are generally employed in their initial form, as if, in Dēva-nāgarī, we were to write तऊ for tū. A reformed variety of Ṭākri, with a complete series of vowels, is in use in the State of Chamba, and is there known as 'Chamiāli.' The reformation was carried out under English influence some twenty or thirty years ago. Types have been cast, and portions of the Scriptures have been printed in it.

Bühler considered Ṭākṛī to be a variety of the Śāradā alphabet. I think that this is a wrong way of looking at it. There is another alphabet current all over the Panjāb plains and over Sindh known as *Laṇḍā*, or 'clipped.' It is connected with the *Mahājanī* character, which has spread from Mārwar all over northern India. Like Mahājanī and Ṭākṛī, its vowel system is singularly incomplete. It is, indeed, closely related to Ṭākṛī, and the two are only varieties of the same script. It will thus be seen that there was really one original alphabet current over the whole of north-western India, including Kasmīr, the Lower Himālaya, the Panjāb, and Sindh, and it is most probable that Ṭākṛī is a brother of Śāradā, and not a son. Śāradā is a complete alphabet adapted for writing Sanskrit, while Laṇḍā and Ṭākṛī are rude scripts adapted to the needs of uneducated shopkeepers and the like, but they have all a common origin.

It is said that in the time of Angad, the second Sikh Guru (1538-1552 A.D.), Laṇḍā was the only alphabet employed in the Panjāb for writing the vernacular. Angad found that Sikh hymns written in Laṇḍā were liable to be misread, and he accordingly improved it by borrowing signs from the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet (then only used for Sanskrit manuscripts), and by polishing up the letters, so as to make them fit for recording the Scriptures of the Sikh religion. Having been invented by him, this character became known as *Gur-mukhī*, or the alphabet proceeding from the mouth of the Guru. Ever since, this alphabet has been employed for writing the Sikh Scriptures, and its use has spread widely. It is an error to call Gurmukhī the alphabet of the Pañjābī language. It is not peculiar to that form of speech. It is, properly speaking, the language of the Sikh Scriptures, most of which are not in Pañjābī.

We may thus divide the alphabets of the north-west of India into four varieties—two literary alphabets, viz. Śāradā and Gurmukhī, and two non-literary alphabets, viz. Laṇḍā and Ṭākṛī. The close connexion between these four will be at once manifest from the following plates.

Laṇḍā and Ṭākṛī vary slightly from place to place. I have chosen what seemed to me to be typical forms. They have all been carefully traced from originals, either in manuscript or lithographed. In the case of the letter *ṭha*, I have given two Laṇḍā forms. Several examples of Laṇḍā and Ṭākṛī will be found in Dr. Leitner's *Collection of Specimens of Commercial and other Alphabets and Hand-writings as also of Multiplication Tables current in various parts of the Panjab, Sind, and the North-West Provinces*. Excellent specimens of the various forms of Laṇḍā in use in Sindh will be found in Stack's *Sindhī Grammar*.

In the following plates the letters are arranged in the order of the Gurmukhī alphabet, in which the vowels are built on a system varying from that of Dēva-nāgarī, and are followed by *sa* and *ha*. In both particulars Śāradā follows Dēva-nāgarī and not Gurmukhī.

GURMUKHĪ.	LAṆḌĀ.	ṬĀKRĪ.	ŚĀRADĀ.	
ਅ	ੴ	ਯ	ਸ (a)	'āiṛā.'
ੲ	ੴ	ੴ	ੴ (i)	'īṛī.'
ੴ	ੴ	ੴ	ੴ (u)	'ūṛd.'
ੴ	ੴ	ੴ	ੴ	ō.
ਸ	ੴ	ੴ	ਸ	sa.
ਹ	ੴ	ੴ	ੴ	ha.
ਕ	ੴ	ੴ	ਕ	ka.
ਖ	ੴ	ੴ	ਖ	kha.
ਗ	ੴ	ੴ	ਗ	ga.

GURMUKHĪ.	LAṆḌĀ.	ṬĀKRĪ.	ŚĀRADĀ.	
ਘ	ਖ	ਘ	ਖ	<i>gha.</i>
ਙ	ਙ	ਙ	ਙ	<i>ṅa.</i>
ਚ	ਚ	ਚ	ਚ	<i>ca.</i>
ਛ	ਛ	ਛ	ਛ	<i>cha.</i>
ਜ	ਜ	ਜ	ਜ	<i>ja.</i>
ਝ	ਝ	ਝ	ਝ	<i>jha.</i>
ਢ	ਢ	...	ਢ	<i>ṇa.</i>
ਟ	ਟ	ਟ	ਟ	<i>ṭa.</i>
ਠ	ਠ	ਠ	ਠ	<i>ṭha.</i>

GURMUKHĪ.	LAṆḌĀ.	ṬĀKRĪ.	ŚĀRADĀ.	
ੳ	З	З	𑖄	<i>ḍa.</i>
ਙ	Զ	𑖅	𑖅	<i>ḍha.</i>
ਙ	Է	=	𑖆	<i>ṇa.</i>
ਤ	Մ	ਤ	ਤ	<i>ta.</i>
ਥ	Թ	𑖇	𑖇	<i>tha.</i>
ਦ	Ը	𑖈	𑖈	<i>da.</i>
ਧ	Թ	𑖉	𑖉	<i>dha.</i>
ਨ	Ի	𑖊	𑖊	<i>na.</i>
ਪ	Կ	𑖋	𑖋	<i>pa.</i>

GURMUKHĪ.	LAṆḌĀ.	ṬĀKRĪ.	ŚĀRADĀ.	
ਠ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ਠ	<i>pha.</i>
ਥ	ਥ	ਥ	ਥ	<i>ba.</i>
ਡ	ਡ	ਡ	ਠ	<i>bha.</i>
ਮ	ਮ	ਮ	ਮ	<i>ma.</i>
ਯ	ਯ	...	ਯ	<i>ya.</i>
ਰ	ੴ	ੴ	ੴ	<i>ra.</i>
ਲ	ਲ	ੴ	ਲ	<i>la.</i>
ਵ	ਵ	ੴ	ਵ	<i>va.</i>
ੜ	ੜ	ੴ	...	<i>ra.</i>

VI.

THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF YASNA XI, XII.

FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY¹ TRANSLATED.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

YASNA XI.

The three true friends of man.

THREE manifest Holy Ones there are who proceed² according to the word of the Āfrīn.

Their curses upon their starvers.

Those three³ are visible (literally 'the three are clear') to him where they, (the three; see below) would execute their curses,⁴

(2) The Ox (or Cow) and the Horse, and Hōm.

¹ The texts upon which these translations are made were published, together with Yasna XIII, in Heft III of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, October, 1902, as edited with all the MSS. collated.

Translations into Sanskrit, Pārsi-Persian, and Gujrati upon texts not collated, and otherwise not of a critical character, have alone preceded this. The parts within square brackets [] are the glosses, those within the parenthetical curves () are my explanations.

² The error of sātūnd = 'to proceed,' mistaking zavanti for a form of zu = jū 'to hasten,' is of unusual interest, for it affords an instance where Nēr. totally differs from what has been supposed to be his sole original, and which was indeed for the most part his text, as he himself states. This error of the Pahlavi was also motivated by a rational criticism 'Hastening' was certainly more natural to a 'horse' than 'invoking.' Nēr.'s ākroçayanti, kila, çāpani kurvanti is, however, correct. They 'curse' indeed, according to the meaning of the original, as determined by the contexts.

³ Or reading aē for III = '3.' This is clear to him; that they would perform the Āfrīn [(i.e. the three sacred parties)]

⁴ I would now prefer to read nafrīn in the gloss; as we have here what seems to be an interesting alternative opinion (always a matter of critical importance).'

(3) The Ox (or 'Cow') comes to¹ the Zaothar in whose keeping it ('he, or she') is,

The Ox's Curse.

(4) Thus (i.e. saying thus): So thou art² without offspring; also so let there be ill-fame with³ thee,

(5) Who dost not share⁴ for my sake (or 'who dost not give') any value to the deserving ones (like me), this even.⁵

(6) Then thou dost nourish me, that is, thou dost keep me back (reserve me) for (thy) women and sons, and for thine own stomach.⁶

The Horse's Curse.

(7) The Horse approaches⁷ (*sic*) his rider⁸

(8) thus: Be⁹ not yoker of the fleet¹⁰ (one) [the battle-

¹ So, better than reading an *i* as the sign of gen. with D. (Pt. 4); see Nēr.'s accus. Here Nēr. adheres to his correct idea 'ākroçayati.' His (Nēr.'s) grhītāram must be intelligent freedom. I cannot see how either zōt, or zaothar, could literally mean 'take.' Nēr.'s addition 'āste' points his rendering of the gloss correctly, and his 'yo' (yah) shows us that he preferred to render tōrā 'ox' rather than 'cow'; but in the (Jāthas 'gau' is feminine, at least predominantly so. Without Nēr.'s 'yo' . . . āste we could not have known his idea of it just here.

² Or we might take this present in the sense of an imperative, with Nēr.'s more correct b'ava 'Be thou issueless.'

³ Nēr. intelligently uses the verbal rather than the prepositional form, duḥkirtyā upagūhtah; his 'b'ava' led him to omit the conj. yehvūmāt.

⁴ Notice Nēr.'s varšasi 'rarest' in the rare sense of 'give,' so also elsewhere.

⁵ Perhaps meaning '(to) this one (i.e. to me) even.' B. (D., Pt. 4) seems arzanig aēiç, avoiding the plural, but Nēr. has anurūpeh'yah, and C. (the Parsi-Pers. MS.) has also the plural. These frequent 'improvements' of B. (Pt. 4) make it often look very like a modern revision which anyone might make.

⁶ Reading mūršv' as an attempted transliteration. Nēr.'s dustodarāya seems the best explanation of the Pahl. and original. I felt inclined to read it (the Pahl.) after mac'deh = 'stomach', but see the original. I fear, however, that I was inclined to rebel too freely against 'tradition' in 1883-87, having been inclined to see a trace of 'macerate,' 'growing thin' in the word, from this perhaps was derived my adjective 'niggard.'

⁷ Nēr. continues to correct this well-meant error with his ākroçayati = 'curses.' The Parsi-Pers. tries to break away from ravēt, etc., with iējēd.

⁸ C. (the Parsi-Pers.) has suvār (or 'suwār'), see also Nēr.'s netāram, both in accordance with bāsārem.

⁹ Or 'thou art not.' I almost think we may take yehvūmīh in an imperative sense again, with Nēr., who had no hesitation with his b'ava, or did he look at the original?; without much doubt.

¹⁰ It is highly probable that Nēr. meant simply 'fleet' with sād'aka (so elsewhere). He could hardly have been ignorant as to what kārīzār meant. Yet prad'ānakāryino, literally at least, corresponds to sād'aka in its more common sense. He meant, however, merely prad'āna- as 'warhorses.'

horse (is meant); that is, may it not be possible to thee to hitch them on], nor to sit¹ (hold thy seat?) upon the swift, nor yet to stable them (or 'to stop them'), [that is to say, may it not be possible to thee to keep (or 'get') them back],

(9) who dost not pray² for that which is my strength³ [(good) works (or, indeed, 'agriculture'⁴) and (sound) opinions],

(10) When many have come together into the meeting, many men who have done⁵ (good) works,⁵ (or 'agriculture' (as the chief of them) (*sic*)) [(to) the battle-horse in struggle; that is, may it not be possible to these to [carry on the] struggle⁶].

The Curse of Hōm.

(11) Hōm approaches⁷ that drinker [who ought to drink, and who does not drink, saying thus]: (12) Offspringless thou art⁸; let evil fame likewise be with thee, (13) who keepest me from the libation, [that is to say, who dost not command execution (or 'celebration') for me in the sacrifice].

¹ Notice that *θāx'tan'*, while being the correspondent to *nīθaxta*, is yet apparently not applied to it directly as a translation, while this *nīθaxta* seems to be translated by the less closely corresponding *nīhādan'*, which should mean 'to place' rather than 'to stop' them, and *dāstan'* might mean the same thing. I think, however, that the words have become twisted about in the course of time and of re-copying, *θaxtan* must really translate *nīθaxta*.

² Beyond a doubt the 'd' of *paḍyēchē* should be expressed, the Pahl. word is 'zaidih' (or 'zāidih'), but see Nēr.'s departure in 'upakramasi,' whereas at Y. IX, 74, he has the more natural *yāčayitāram*, though there he mistakes the grammatical relation.

³ Not impossibly 'fleetness' was the dominant idea. Nēr., however, has *piāpua*.

⁴ *Kār* may mean 'agriculture.'

These glosses, of course, mar the simple rich sense of the original, see further on.

⁵ This is rather an amusing error for *kašyāō*, which should mean 'a circular (racecourse)'; but certainly not as above, which is valuable as a mistake followed by Nēr., and well fitted to warn us against absolute submission to 'tradition' without discrimination.

⁶ A. (DJ. (J²)) alone has this interesting gloss. It is not in Nēr., nor in the Parsi-Pers.

⁷ Nēr. corrects this again.

⁸ Nēr. follows the original Avesta, but *yehvūnīh* may have been meant in this sense (*b'ava*).

(14) As a thief who wields the bludgeon (lit. 'who is head-smiter'¹) [and not having the afrin's, thou also holdest me as āfrinless]; and fatal smiter (lit. 'head-smiter') am I not, for Hōm I am, Hōm the holy, and the death-afar.

God, and Hōm's Feast.

(16) (God) my father always² dispensed that which is Hōm's feast,³ He, Aūharmazd, the holy; (He gave) the jawbone⁴ with the tongue, and also the left eye⁵ (so!).

Curse to the Depriver.

(17) Who destroys away from me that feast, or diverts (possibly 'mars') it, or plunders it, the feast which Aūharmazd the holy, gave me, the jawbone⁴ with tongue and left eye,

(18) let not⁶ a priest, nor warrior, nor husbandman be born in that (mun's) house;

¹ I think that the 'ū' of pūrtak corresponds to Avesta 'ere' = Indhan 'r' as in 'pūnā' to 'purenāyu.' See pūnākān' in Y. 8, 9, and 'ere' (= 'r') is closely related to -eš-, as 'pūrt-' = is to 'peret-', and '-ak' is the familiar addition as in vohū-k for 'vohū.'

² The origin of the use of this word 'hamīkak' here, I should say, was the 'us' of the original, or it might indeed have been chosen from its likeness to some fragment of the word haomāi, looking like hamāi, which, however, is, itself, properly translated by 'av' Hōm.'

³ I think that Spiegel's 'sūr' is a good suggestion.

⁴ For aīvūrak I compare 'ilvar' = 'jawbone.' But Justi may offer the better suggestion with 'left ear,' though I do not see any analogon for it in the other languages. The Parsi-Pers. MS. translates har-dū-gōš 'both ears.' Perhaps this approaches the 'jawbone' at the upper extremity of which the ears are situated.

⁵ The 'left eye' was evidently prized for some mystical reason. I have heard that a commencement with the eye when the remains of the dead are exposed to the vultures is reverently regarded as auspicious at the Towers of Silence near Bombay. Such feelings should be respected.

⁶ D. has hūl-ā = 'up.' This might add emphasis to the sentence, but it would leave us with no negative in the needed place, while 'al lā' only leaves us with a redundancy; but see Nēr.'s ni nā. So the MSS. emended by Spiegel to na na, which might, however, express an affirmative. Or should we prefer ni nā with ni in the sense (born) 'within'; yet see the original nōit. The Parsi-Pers. MS. translates only the lā. B (D., Pt. 4) may have meant aē lā = aēy lā. But what do A. (DJ.) and D. (K' (Sp.)) mean by alā (so); al lā must be meant.

(19) but let one who is an exhauster¹ of the creation¹ [who will exhaust the creation of Aūharmazd] be born in that house; let a murder-doer² (be born there), [that is to say, one who would make matters ruined], a doer of many³ kinds of erring³ deeds, [that is to say, they would continue forth to do much of the law; but even a single thing⁴ which is at (i.e. 'which has regard to') the end (the other world) they will not do].

Dispatch desired.

(20) Quick! when ye cut off that flesh, [that is, (when) ye kill⁵ the cattle] hasten the drōn of doughty⁶ Hōm, [that is to say, perform straight off the drōn-ceremony⁷ of doughty Hōm].

¹ Dahakāča is utterly mistaken on all sides. K⁵ (Sp.) and M. have daxšak, and they probably understood what Nēr. did, namely, čhnam = 'seed.' Notice in passing Nēr.'s Parsi gloss māgham. Did he think of the 'seed' as 'māgha' (-maga-) -seed? B. (D., Pt. 4) and C. (the Parsi-Pers. MS.) are equally astray with dahisū-, for while that, with -kāhēnitar, gives an admirable general sense, of course no form of dā = 'd'hā,' 'to establish' is present in dahakā-; the syllable -kā- was also thought to represent a sense of 'belittlement' cf. Ind. kā- as in kāpat'a = 'an evil path,' etc. (I think that kā = 'kēna' in these Indian cases.) The Parsi-Pers. seems to translate his kāhīnīdār as kāstar? Is this a clerical blunder, or should we compare a kāstar = 'disappointed,' or a kāstan in the sense of 'render hopeless,' 'diminish' (see Nēr.'s ninditārah).

² We are practically forced to follow the Parsi-Pers. with murtak = 'tabah,' especially in view of the gloss. Previous Pahlavi translators may have doubtless merely intended to transcribe the word, but with these we have nothing to do.

³ B. (D., Pt. 4) has pūrsarēdak'. B. (D., Pt. 4) alone inserts 'var(ē)tak', which would seem to be an adjective to a var(ē)ta in the sense of 'transgression,' 'the erring way', but we need an emendation after vartak. The use of the word evidently arose from the syllable 'var' in varšnāča.

⁴ A. (DJ.), B. (D., Pt. 4), and C. (the Parsi-Pers.) give us the excellent 'mindavam' for K⁵ (Sp.)'s mā's (formerly written mamman a').

⁵ Notice that 'cattle' were killed at the time of the writing of the gloss.

⁶ Nēr. alone gives us relief from the senseless second 'zag' of all the others. His drd'atamañ here shows that he read ta(n)gik as at Y. IX, 47, or 'tangiktūm'; see also his drd'atamañ at Y. 56, 6, 2. We must read ta(n)gik, or tangiktūm, beyond a doubt; yet only Nēr. can be shown for it.

⁷ B. (D., Pt. 4) has drōn. K⁵ (Sp.) sūr (or divar?). Nēr. has hūmotsavah. Notice that Nēr. gives us help even where his text is most in confusion. Texts of Pahlavi, Sanskrit, or Persian are often of most value to us (when critically used) where they are most impossible as consecutive sentences. A single form may throw light upon obscurities.

Warned again.

(21) That is,¹ let not Hōm (in anger) bind thee, as he bound the murderous Turanian, Frangrasyan, in the middle of the third² division of the earth.

(22) Around whom also was that which is an enclosure³ of iron and of silver. [So Māhvindāt said. Dāt-i-Aūharmazd said thus: he was enclosed⁴ around about⁵; that is to say, about him⁶ a fortress has been made].

Dorologies.

(23) So⁷ Zartūst said to him: Praise to Hōm, the Aūharmazd-made one; Good is Hōm, the Aūharmazd-made one; Praise to Hōm!

The Offering is multiplied in power.

(24) What (is coming) from us (that is to say, 'such offering as we bring,' that) one single [Dastōbar, one single man, (or meaning perhaps 'from me as a single man') (that, the Dastōbar) makes⁸] that which is the double⁹ of it ours,¹⁰ (that is to say, the Dastōbar rewards us twofold for our gift), and even threefold, and fourfold, and fivefold, and

¹ We might even render aēγ as 'ah' here.

² B. (D., Pt. 4) again approaches mere transliteration, as so often, and so looks suspiciously modern. His srišvātāk' (see the original ōrišvē) loses what of gloss lurks in -bazak', which Nēr. reproduces as -b'āga in trib'āga-. The Parsi-Pers., as often, agrees with B. (D., Pt. 4).

See also at Vendidad II, where the second third division of the earth is mentioned. According to our text here F. was conquered at the fabulous date of the second enlargement of the earth, after Yima had reigned 300 years.

³ We should restore the lost nasal, as in the Achaemenian Inscriptions.

⁴ For xva(n)it the Parsi-Pers. seems at a loss for a text, but once more in the midst of the worst chaos we have our only glimpse of light. The translation hušsār 'enclosure' alone helps us out. Nēr. does not render the passage, and we miss him greatly.

⁵ A. (DJ.), B. (D., Pt. 4), M, and the Parsi-Pers. have 'min' for K⁵ (Sp.)'s 'man'; but not at the first words of 22, which are af man' pīrāmūn.

⁶ A. (DJ.) saves us from the senseless aēγ-am of the others, with his aēγ-aš.

⁷ I render 'at' 'so' here; the Parsi-Pers., as so often, renders 'azaš.' Not, so Nēr., who has naturally 'tam ah'āšata.'

⁸ So B. (D., Pt. 4) and the Parsi-Pers., see also Nēr.'s kurute.

⁹ For 'le-gūn' see Nēr.'s dvigūnañ.

¹⁰ A. (DJ.) ina. ī before the second lanā.

sixfold, and sevenfold, and eightfold, and ninefold, and tenfold, [(till at last, through the redoubling of its value, this reward) ought to be ¹ of itself, (that is to say, 'indefinitely becoming greater without further mention of the multiplying factor'; i.e.)] this benefit which has come ² [to us] from you. should so be self-adjusting; or, possibly simply meaning, 'it should be (thus my) own.'

The Offerer's Gift.

(25) On to thee, O Hōm, the holy-born,³ I offer this my own body which is seen (to be) well-favoured (lit. 'well-grown'),

(26) Thus: till there shall be to us⁴ good⁵ mastership,⁵ [and acquisition⁶ of benefits (through it)], and ceremonial merit and sanctity.

¹ B. (D., Pt. 4) has -nēt, so C. (the Parsi-Pers. MS). A. (DJ.) has yehvūnt for yehvūtan'.

² The terms in the original allude to Y. 28, 9, but the translation 'has come' for '(yōi vč) yaeθnu' I hold to be erroneous, see Gāthas, pp. 15 and 406; see also the new edition of the Verbatims and Free Metricals.

³ A. (DJ.) should read zāyak (?), hardly zādak, but the signs would be redundant for either. K' (Sp.) and M. have zāk. But, as elsewhere, this 'holy born' is, as I hold, not critically correct. Ašavāzō is only critically rendered by 'bearer of the ritual.' Ašava + za is improbable (but not impossible), as rtāvan seldom, or never, enters into a compositum, whereas, vah = 'vaz' occurs; cf. dak'sina-vāh, suš'tuvāh, havya-vāh, hotra-vāh. Where the idea of sanctity is expressed in a compositum, the form used is rtā-, not rtāvan; (the transfer to an -a declension is not unusual). Nēr., however, follows his original. See also Y. XI, 26, where ašavastāi seems to divide ašava + sta. (Otherwise we must accept the ašavasta, see the superl. of ašavanit, ašavastema. If related to this superlative, it is a curious idiomatic formation, perhaps never really used in speech.)

⁴ Possibly the word mān rendered 'us' should be understood as mān = '(to this) abode,' something like xši = 'to dwell' having been seen in the -xšai of θvaxšai. Nēr. has no trace of either. Notice that Nēr.'s text is here much better than that of the Pahl. translator.

⁵ Hu-axūih could only render havanhāi, which, I think, suggests the correct division of the word into hu + ahu, cf. hvanhvīm, Y. 53, 1; see Gāthas at the place, 372.

⁶ I have read vīdīgarīh (?). B. (D., Pt. 4) has vāndakarīh (?). But we must consider a possible vīnik(-arīh) referring to the 'nostrils' as expressing 'passion,' and pointing to mađai. The Parsi-Pers. omits the form. Nēr.'s vidyāyāi must, as usual, refer to mađai in the sense of a mađšn.

Of course the translation errs as to the immediate grammatical forms. In S.B.E. I freely passed over the question of havanhāi. I should have expressed it as 'to the one giving-the-good-world-life' (so, reading hvanhāi); 'to haoma, to the energetic, to the inspirer, to the one standing-in-the-holy-ritual.'

(27) Give up to me even, O thou Hōm, the holy, and the death-afar, the Best World of the saints, the shining,¹ all-glorious (or 'all-happy(?)'). I pray for it, so² do thou even give it me.

YASNA XII.

Preparation for the Recital of the Creed.

Acceptance.

I ardently praise the good thought, the good word, and the good deed. I grant full acceptance to all good thought, good speech, and good deed, [that is, I accept (or 'I perform') good works].

Repudiations.

(3) I make a repudiation of all evil thought, evil speech, and evil deeds, [that is to say, I would not practise sin].

To the Ameshas, praise.

(4) Forth to You, who are Amešaspendis, do I offer
(5) sacrifice and praise; [Ye are placable and immovable].

Complete Devotion.

(6) And I give forth (my offering) with thought, forth with word, and ('I give it') forth with deed, and with mental³ mastership. Also (I give it) forth with my body and with my life itself, [that is to say, I put my body in Your possession, (and by putting my life in Your possession I mean) this, that if it is necessary to me to give up the body for the sake of the soul, I give it up, and I do not stint praise, (or 'I do not praise again'; that is to say, I will not keep on praising again without acts of formal sacrifice)].

¹ Nēr. has ročismān, where we should expect '-mantam.'

² I think that 'af' has often the force of 'so' as well as that of 'also.'

³ See Nēr.'s 'prājñā-'; so my MSS., making a slight correction only.

VII.

NOTE ON THE MIDDLE COUNTRY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, F.B.A.

NUMEROUS examples might be quoted of philosophical, or political, or religious parties who have claimed for themselves a central, or a moderate, position, far removed from the ignorances and foolishnesses of the extremists on either side. There are even cases in which the critical historian may observe that, on a fair survey of the points in dispute at the time and place in question, the claim is fairly justified. So the Buddha claimed for his view of life that it was the Middle Way between worldliness, or indifference, on the one side, and asceticism on the other. So Aristotle described the ideal virtue as the Golden Mean.

A somewhat similar case is that of people, dwelling in places or countries remote one from the other, who have nevertheless claimed for their own town or country a central position. Most Westerns used to suppose our earth to be the very centre of all the stars; and how pleasantly such a notion may appeal to self-complacency is shown by recent attempts to reconcile it with improved astronomy. We all know that a certain town on the east coast of North America is the hub of the universe. So is Lhasa in Tibet. And the Chinese are often reported habitually to speak of China as 'the Middle Country.' It is difficult to say whether this last is a designation merely geographical, or whether it also connotes that the people outside are outsiders, barbarians. And I do not know if any Chinese scholar has adequately discussed the history and full bearing of the term. But it is interesting to notice that certain writers in India made use of a similar expression; and it may be of use to collect the evidence as to the degree in which they did so, and as to the intent with which they used it.

The oldest passage in which it occurs is in the fifth Khandaka, the Cammakkhanda, of the Vinaya (1. 197), translated in "Vinaya Texts" (ii, 38). It is in a very ancient explanation of a rule of the Buddhist Order which allows the reception of a new member into the Order to take place, in border countries, before a chapter of only four members under the presidency of a fifth (who must be one who knows the Rules by heart). In the middle country the chapter had to consist of ten members.¹ The explanation of the rule laying down this exceptional procedure is as follows :--

Tatr° ime paccantimā janapadā :

Puratthimāya disāya Kajangalaṃ nāma nigamaṃ, tassa parena Mahāsālā, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

Puratthimadakkhiṇāya disāya Salalavatī nāma nadī, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

Dakkhiṇāya disāya Setakaṇṇikaṃ nāma nigamo, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

Pacchimāya disāya Thūnaṃ nāma brāhmaṇagamo, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

Uttārāya disāya Usiraddhajo nāma pabbato, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

That is to say :

"In this (Rule) the following are the border countries :—

"To the east is the town called Kajangala, beyond that is Mahāsālā. Beyond that are border countries ; on this side of it is in the middle (country).

"To the south-east is the river Salalavatī (v.l. Sallavatī). Beyond that are border countries ; on this side of it is in the middle (country).

"To the south is the town Setakaṇṇika. Beyond that are border countries ; on this side of it is in the middle (country).

"To the west is the brahmin village called Thūna. Beyond that are border countries ; on this side of it is in the middle (country).

¹ See Vin., 1. 319 = Mahāvagga, ix, 4. 1.

“To the north is the mountain called *Usīraddhaja*. Beyond that are border countries; on this side of it is in the middle (country).”

It may be noted in passing that it is most unlikely that the Middle Country thus delimited was supposed to be square. We should, in that case, have heard only of the usual north, south, east, and west. What we have to imagine is a district of irregular shape, with five corners not necessarily equidistant.

The document in which this statement occurs was considered by Professor Oldenberg, in the introduction to his edition of the text (dated May, 1879), as being about 400 B.C., and probably a little earlier. The only alternative theory is that the whole of the Pali literature, including this work, are simply forgeries concocted in Ceylon. But no attempt has been made to show how this latter theory can be made to square with the facts; it is put forward by way of inuendo rather than as a serious and considered opinion; and would not now, I think, meet anywhere with approval.

From that time (about 400 B.C.) onward, this explanation has formed part of the tradition handed down in the Buddhist schools. And when the commentaries came in the course of the fifth century A.D. to be recorded, some in Ceylon and some in India, in Pali, it was incorporated in them. Thus we find it given, in identical words, and as a description of the *Majjhima Desa*, in the *Paramattha Jotikā*, the commentary on the *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, a work not yet edited, but ascribed in the *Gandha Vamsa* (p. 59) to *Buddhaghosa*.¹ We find it in the *Sumangala Vilāsinī*, the commentary on the *Dīgha*, undoubtedly by *Buddhaghosa*²; and in the *Jātaka* commentary, also ascribed, but in my opinion erroneously,³ to *Buddhaghosa*. The passage is also given, but this time in paraphrase, in the heavy Sanskritised

¹ The quotation is given by Childers in his notes to the edition of the *Khuddaka Pāṭha* (J.R.A.S., October, 1869, p. 20 of the author's reprint).

² Vol. i, p. 173, of Rhys Davids' and Carpenter's edition for the Pali Text Society.

³ See the references given in “*Buddhist India*,” p. 201; and *Jātaka*, 1. 49.

Pāli peculiar to that author, by Upatissa in his *Mahābodhi-vamsa*,¹ which the editor dates about the same period as Buddhaghosa.

In both the *Jātaka* commentary and the *Sumangala* the following sentence, not found in the *Vinaya*, is added:—

“That (middle country) is in length 300 *yojanas*, in breadth 250 *yojanas*, and in circumference 900 *yojanas*.”

We are elsewhere told in the *Jātaka* (1. 80) of two merchants travelling on the road from *Ukkala* to the *Majjhima Desu*; of hermits fearing to descend from the *Himālayas* to go into *Majjhima Desu* because the people there are too learned (3. 115, 116); of a mountain *Arañjara-giri* in the *Majjhima Desu* (3. 463; 5. 134), and of *Videha* being situate within it (3. 364).

A similar passage further occurs, in the same connection as in the *Vinaya*, in a collection of legends preserved in Buddhist Sanskrit, called the *Divyāvadāna*, put together at some unknown date after the Christian era. It runs as follows:—

Pūrvenopali Puṇḍavardhanaḥ nāma nagaraḥ, tasya pūrveṇa Puṇḍakakṣo nāma parvataḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ.

Dakṣiṇena Sarāvati² nāma nagari, tasyāḥ pareṇa Sarāvati nāma nadī, so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ.

Pāscimena Sthūnopasthūnakau brāhmaṇagrāmakau, so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa paryantaḥ.

Uttareṇa Usiragiriḥ, so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ.

That is to say:

“To the east, *Upāli*, is the town called *Puṇḍavardhana*, and to the east of that the mountain called *Puṇḍakakṣa*, beyond that is beyond the border.

“To the south is the town called *Sarāvati*, and to the east of that the river called *Sarāvati*. That is the boundary.. Beyond that is beyond the boundary.

¹ Strong's edition (P.T.S.), p. 12.

² *Saravati*, and *Savāravatī*, in other MSS.

"To the west are the brahmin villages Sthūṇa and Upasthūṇaka. That is the boundary. Beyond that, is beyond the boundary.

"To the north is Mount Usīra. That is the boundary. Beyond that is beyond the boundary."

This is evidently an echo of the old Vinaya passage. But the writer cannot have had the Pali before him. For the east and south-east have been confused, the south point (as given in the Pali) is omitted, and both the names and the phraseology differ slightly throughout.

I will first add here what is known of the places mentioned in these passages, and then suggest the conclusions which, I venture to think, may fairly be drawn.

1. *Kajangala*. This town is not mentioned elsewhere in the Pali texts so far as edited. But a town *Kajangalā*, which, in spite of the difference of gender, may be the same, is mentioned several times. Two of these references are in our oldest documents (*Majjhima*, 3. 298, and *Anguttara*, 5. 54). Had we before us the commentaries on these two passages, and on the Vinaya passage, we could probably decide the point. But they are unfortunately still buried in MS. At *Jātaka* IV, 310, we are told that *Kajangalā* was, even in the Buddha's time, an ancient place, and that it was famous for its dabba-grass. And the *Majjhima* passage shows that it was the seat of the Pārāsāriya school of brahmins.¹ Now Yuan Chwang happens to mention twice, in his fifth and tenth chapters, a place whose name he transliterates with five Chinese syllables, the first two of which certainly represent *Kaja* and the last two *gala*. The intermediate syllable is doubtful, as the readings differ. Vivien de St. Martin (who, of course, knew nothing of the passages just quoted) restored the name as *Kajangala*, and he is probably right. Anyhow, Thomas Watters, the best authority we have on such a point, agrees with him. Yuan Chwang locates this place at about 400 li, that is, about 65-70 miles, east of Champā, whose capital is known to have been close

¹ On this interesting school see "Buddhist India," p. 144.

to where the modern Bhāgalpur now stands. This would fix that Kajangala at about 98° E. by 25° N.

Now it is true that only excavations on the spot, and the evidence of an inscription, can determine the exact locality, or settle the question of identity. But the probability is greatly in favour of this Kajangala, whose position in the seventh century A.D. is thus approximately fixed, being the same place as is mentioned in the far older document. For here the Divyāvadāna, belonging to a period between the two, comes to our assistance. It gives, as the extreme eastern point, a town called Puṇḍavardhana. Now a district with a name transliterated into Chinese as Pun-na-fa-tan-na (probably for Pali Puṇṇavaddhana or Sanskrit Puṇḍravardhana) was the very next point, in Yuan Chwang's itinerary, beyond Kajangala, and to the east of it. And it will be recollected that in the old Vinaya passage it was not Kajangala itself, but the district or town to the east of it, which was given as the extreme easterly point of the Middle Country. The three texts, therefore, by these quite undesigned coincidences, confirm one another. And we are justified in accepting, as a working hypothesis, that the places mentioned are real places, and that we cannot be far wrong as to the locality in which they should be placed.

2. Mahāsālā, stated, in the Vinaya passage, to be beyond Kajangala to the east, has not been found mentioned elsewhere, so far as I know, in either Pali or Sanskrit texts, that is, in any geographical sense. In the sense of millionaire it is frequent. To discuss whether there be any connection between the two meanings would take us too far from our present point. There is a Chinese name used in Yuan Chwang which has been restored to Mahāsālā. But it cannot be the place referred to in the Vinaya passage; for though no two interpreters of Yuan Chwang agree as to what he meant its position to be, they all agree that it is not in the position required by the Vinaya text. It should be noticed that the Jātaka text, with a change of gender, reads Mahāsālo, and that the Mahā-bodhi-vamśa omits the name altogether.

3. The river Salalavatī, at the south-east corner, is also not mentioned in other texts. But it is evidently the same as is given as Sarāvati, with other various readings, in the Divyāvadāna as the most southerly point. The most southerly point in the older passage is, on the other hand, a town called Setakaṇṇika, on which also there is nothing else to say.

4. The most westerly point is given in the Vinaya as a brahmin village named Thūna. We learn from the story in the Udāna (7. 9) that there was a brahmin village of that name in the country of the Mallas. And from the Mahā Janaka Jātaka (vi, 62, 65), that there was also a town, not a village and not inhabited by brahmins, called Thūna (with ṇ, not n). This was close to the Himālayas. From the context it would seem to follow that it was close to the Himālayas at a point 60 yojanas north of Mithilā (see pp. 55, 56). It is very certain, therefore, that this cannot be the place meant in the Vinaya, which was in the west of India. But the accounts of Alexander's invasion of India mention a tribe of Mallas (Malloi) in the Panjab. They were settled at that time (326 B.C.) on the banks of the Rāvi (say about 73° E. by 31° N.).¹ It is in this direction that the Thūna of the Vinaya must be sought for. It is not at all surprising that there should have been two different towns of the same name in different and distant settlements of the same tribe. The younger town is simply named after the older one. Other instances of the same kind, in the East, are Champa, Kamboja, Patitṭhāna, and Madhura or Mathura. And in the colonies of European nations similar instances are well known. The Divyāvadāna gives two villages, Sthūna and Upasthūnaka, both brahmin villages, as the western point.

5. The most northerly point is, in the Vinaya, the mount Usiraddhaja, called in the Divyāvadāna Usīragiri. One of the peaks in the lower range of the Himālaya is here probably intended.

It would be in accordance with these details if the boundary

¹ See Mr. Vincent Smith, J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 691.

of the Middle Country, starting from the extreme east in long. 73° E., sloping north-east to the lower Himālayas, and following them to a point, not yet determined, in the extreme north, should then have still followed them till it sloped south-east to the extreme easterly point in long. 98° E. by lat. 25° N.

Turning back, the boundary must have left Orissa to the south. For we were told in the passage already quoted (above, p. 86) of a merchant travelling from Ukkala to the Middle Country. And Ukkala is Orissa. So Orissa, and *a fortiori* Kalinga, must have been outside.

Thence towards Avanti the route followed cannot be determined till we can locate Setakaṇṇika, or the Salalavati river. Roughly speaking, it must have followed the course of the Vindhya range. One reason why we know little or nothing of the points on the way, is because it was then jungle, very sparsely populated.

In Avanti we have again a fixed point. For the original passage in the Vinaya establishes only *for the southern part* of Avanti the exception laid down to the rule. That implies that the northern part was considered to be in the Middle Country. As Aryan settlements extended as far south as Patitṭhāna ($73^{\circ} 2'$ E. by $21^{\circ} 42'$ N.), the boundary may have run somewhere near there. But it is not probable that it ran exactly through that place, or the place would have been mentioned in our Vinaya text. It is already mentioned in older books.¹

Round the south-west corner also the boundary cannot as yet be traced. We can conjecture that it went from Avanti to the coast, either at Bharukaccha or Sovīra, and probably followed the line of the Indus back to its original starting-point at the brahmin village of Thūna. But for exact details we must await the publications of other texts still buried in manuscript.

If we have at all succeeded in discovering the real meaning of the term Middle Country as used in the old Vinaya text,

¹ "Buddhist India," pp. 30, 103, 111.

then the measures of extent and circumference as handed down in the traditions of the Buddhist schools ought roughly to agree with our conclusions. The actual length of the route we have followed will be, measured in straight lines along the boundary, about 3,500 miles. As the boundary, both on the north and the south, follows the very irregular contour of the mountains, a traveller along the route would probably have to go twice that distance. The extreme points in the east in long. 98° , and in the west in long. 73° , are 25 degrees apart; say about 1,750 miles in a straight line. This is exactly the breadth of the Middle Country as given in the commentaries in the expression 250 yojanas = 1,750 miles.

From south of Patitthāna to the most northerly point our route would reach (somewhere near the Swat Valley), would be somewhat over 1,000 miles. As we do not know from which points the cross measurement given in the commentaries are supposed to be taken, we cannot here compare the results.

The circumference is given at 900 yojanas; that is, leagues or stages. Taking the yojana, according to my calculations, published in 1876, at about 7 to $7\frac{1}{4}$ miles,¹ this would give 6300–6500 miles, which is in practical accord with the route just suggested as having been meant in the Vinaya passage.

By the Middle Country the Buddhists therefore meant the whole of Aryan North India. Of Aryan settlements in India the only ones they do not include are those on the coast of Orissa, and those on the coast of Kalinga, at Dantapura. These were both older than the date of the Vinaya passage, but were separated from the Aryans in North India by dense forests. It is also probable, but not certain, that the first Aryan colony had then been settled in Ceylon.² If so, that was, of course, also considered to lie outside the Middle Country.

¹ "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon," pp. 27–29.

² See "Buddhist India," pp. 33, 104.

The oldest use of the phrase in the brahmin books is in Manu (2. 21), which says :—

“That (country) which (lies) between the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains, to the east of the Destruction and to the west of Prāyāga, is called the Middle Country (Madhyadeśa).”

The Destruction (Vināśana in Jolly's edition) is an ambiguous term. It is really derived from a blunder in the older texts descriptive of another idea, that of the Āryāvārta. As Bühler already suggested,¹ the reading of the oldest brahmin law manual, that of Vasiṣṭa, presupposes a reading *ādārśa*, which was corrupted into *adarśana*, ‘the disappearance,’ and that into *vināśana* or *vināśana*, ‘the destruction,’ an expression explained by the mediæval commentators to mean the place where the river Sarasvatī disappeared, or was destroyed, in the sands. But the original reading meant simply the Ādarśa Mountains.

However this may be, what we find is that when the laws of Manu were put into their present form—that is, under the Guptas, when the brahmins were attaining the supremacy they have ever since retained—the idea of the Middle Country was restricted to that portion of the larger territory formerly included under the term in which the brahmins felt they had the greater influence.

It is interesting to notice the gradual growth of this new conception. The oldest form of the narrower view is preserved, in Bühler's opinion, in the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 2. 4. 10, where the Ādarśa mountains are given as the western limit. It is there given as the description, not of the Middle Country, but of the Āryāvārta, the district frequented by the Aryans, the Aryan Home. As such it could not be considered accurate except from the brahmin point of view. In the law books, or manuals of custom, older than Manu, the description, still given as applicable to the Aryan Home, is by way of introduction to the proposition

¹ S.B.E., vol. xiv, p. 2.

that customs there prevalent must be acknowledged elsewhere as authoritative. It is in *Manu* that, for the first time, the mental attitude comes out in strong relief. The priestly authors of that famous manual have thrown off all disguise. They make a much smaller division to be the land of authority, the land namely between the two rivers *Drṣadvatī* and *Sarasvatī*. That, according to them, is the land created by the gods—as if other lands were not. There, and there only, are the customs declared to be good. Lower, ethically, than that is, secondly, the land of the *Kurus*, *Matsyas*, *Pañcālas*, and *Sūrasenas*. Men should learn their customs from a brahmin, not from a rajput or householder, born there. The Middle Country, reduced to less than half its original size, is put only in the third place.

This really means, of course, merely that the brahmins thought themselves, and very likely were, at that time, more powerful in the districts to which they attach so much importance. It does not follow that they had previously been so, though there is less prejudiced evidence to show that it was in those lands that the brahmin sacrifices and ritual had been more especially favoured. So far as the Aryan civilisation was concerned with other matters, political, social, and economic, it was probably at its best in those parts of North India that had been settled by the more adventurous clans. And the older, more generous, view of the Middle Country was therefore, on the whole, more consonant, probably, with the actual historical facts.

It would be possible to follow the investigation further on in later authors. But the object of this note is only to suggest a probable interpretation of the oldest passages in which the expression occurs. When Professor Oldenberg and myself published, in 1882, a translation of the oldest passage¹ we were only able to refer to parallel passages, and could suggest no identification of any of the names. The meaning of the phrase Middle Country was therefore unknown to us then; and no one, so far as I know, has discussed it since.

¹ "Vinaya Texts," ii, 88.

VIII.

**CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE MISTAKES OF
PHILOLOGERS, BY ALI IBN HAMZA AL-BASRI.**

PART V : OBSERVATIONS ON THE MISTAKES IN THE BOOK
CALLED IKHTIYAR FASIḤ AL-KALAM, COMPOSED BY
ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD IBN YAHYA THA'LAB.

TRANSLATED FROM A MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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LAST year Professor Sachau, of Berlin, pointed out to me among the MSS. in the British Museum an important work of Arabic philology. The work bears the title "Critical Observations on the Mistakes of Philologists by Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Ḥamza al-Basri" (cf. Rieu, Supplement to Catalogue of Arabic MSS., No. 841). The British Museum MS. is a modern copy of an ancient codex in the Khedivial Library in Cairo, and is on the whole legible and accurate, though at points it is not quite reliable. Another similar copy exists at Strassburg (cf. Noldeke, Z.D.M.G., 1886), and the Library of Count Landberg contains a third. The work includes 'observations' on the following eight ancient philological works:—(1) The Nawādir of Abu Ziyād al-Kilābi al-'A'rābi; (2) the Nawādir of Abu 'Amr ash-Shaibāni; (3) the Kitāb an-Nabāt of Aḥmad ibn Da'ūd ad-Dīnawari; (4) the Kāmil of al-Mubarrad; (5) the Faṣīḥ of Tha'lab; (6) the Gharīb al-Muṣannaf of Abu Obaid Qāsim ibn Sallām; (7) the Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq of Ibn as-Sikkīt; (8) the Makṣūr wa'l-Mamdūd of Ibn Wallād. The 'observations,' though sometimes pedantic, are usually valuable from a lexicographical point of view. Abu'l-Qāsim gives many corrections of the statements of the authors on

whose books he comments, and supports his contentions by quotations from the poets, which are in many instances not to be found in the lexicons or in similar works. Even hewre his statements are not to be preferred to those which he criticises, he at least records opinions of early enquirers which deserve notice. His works seem to have been used only to a very small extent by the compilers of the lexicons, and perhaps not directly. In one or two instances I have found his opinion quoted in the *Lisān al-'Arab*, but not systematically. For a fuller account of the work see "Actes du douzième Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes" (Rome, 1899), tome iii, pt. 2, pp. 5-32, where the work is discussed by Dr. P. Brönnle, who promises an edition of the text.

Of the author, Ali ibn Ḥamza, very little is known. He is mentioned by Ḥajī Khalfā as the author of 'refutations' of several works which are all included in this MS. (v. Ḥ. Kh., i, 328; iv, 333, 446; v, 155; vi, 588). There his *kunya* is given as Abu Nu'aim instead of Abu'l-Qāsim; as it is also in Suyūti's *Bughyat al-Wu'at* (Brit. Mus. Or. 3,042, fol. 172a). He is described as one of the foremost philologists, and is said to have been a friend of Mutanabbī the poet, and to have received him in his house when he came to Baghdad (c. 350 A.H.). The list of his works given by Suyūti (l.c.) agrees with what is contained in this MS., except that the 'refutation' of Mubarrad's *Kāmil* (which is not mentioned by Ḥajī Khalfā) is omitted; and a refutation of the Book of Animals (كتاب الحيوان) of Jāhiz (cf. Ḥ. Kh., iii, p. 121) is added, of which I have found no mention elsewhere. The date of his death is given as 375 A.H.

The following article is a translation of the 'Observations' on Tha'lab's Fasīh, which occupy ff. 70b-73a of the British Museum MS. I have not been able to consult any of the other copies of the work, but I hope that the one text has been sufficient to give me the correct sense of the Observations.

In translating the verses I have sometimes had difficulties, and in one or two cases have had to confess failure; perhaps because of an imperfect text, perhaps because of my own too slight acquaintance with poetical phraseology. The arrangement will, I hope, be intelligible. The author is named in the MS. almost always by his kunya, Abu'l-Qāsim, and refers to Tha'lab by his, Abu'l-'Abbās; and I have used these names in referring to them. Abu'l-Qāsim introduces the quotation from the Faṣīḥ which he takes exception to by the formula *قال ابو العباس في باب كذا*. This citation by chapters I have kept, but have also given references by page and line to Barth's edition of the Faṣīḥ (Leipzig, 1876). Tha'lab's statement to which exception is taken is enclosed in quotation marks. Ali ibn Hamza's criticism follows. Remarks, derived mostly from other lexicographical works, which I have thought it necessary or interesting to add, are enclosed in square brackets. The footnotes give textual notes and references to citations of the verses. The following contractions have been used:—Lane = Arabic-English Lexicon by E. W. Lane; L.A. = Lisān al-'Arab; T.A. = Tāj al-Arūs; S. = Siḥāḥ of Jauhari.

Ali ibn Hamza's Preface.

Seeing that the Kitāb Ikhtiyār Faṣīḥ al-Kalām was of great service, and that, though it had only a small number of pages, it was more useful than books of similar compass, and that it had included among its words what many of the larger books had not included, I determined to give some attention to it, and make observations upon those words in regard to which Abu'l-'Abbās had erred, so that the book might be without flaw in its usefulness. Allah, in his providence, do I pray to aid me to attain accuracy, and to avoid what is corrupt. A good patron is he in whom I put my trust.

First chapter of the book. نَمَى and ذَوَى [p. 2, l. 9].

“One says نَمَى المال (*the cattle throve*), impf. يَنْمَى; also ذَوَى العود (*the branch withered*), impf. يَذْوَى.”

Now when there are two forms of a word, it is incumbent upon him to mention both. In the case of ذَوَى there are two chaste forms; and what is more, the form he disregards is more chaste than the one he includes. According to Abu Zaid [al-Ansāri] the Qais say ذَاى العود, impf. يَذَاى, while the Tamīm say ذَوَى. Likewise another authority says that ذَاى is proper to the upper part of Najd (علويه), while ذَوَى belongs to the Tamīm dialect. [Lane, from T.A., mentions this form ذَاى as being used by the people of Bcesha (بَيْشَة; L.A. بُيَيْشَة). Both are given on the authority of al-Laith, and the latter is probably an error).] Ya'qūb [Ibn as-Sikkīt] says that ذَوَى, impf. يَذْوَى, inf. ذَوِيًا; or ذَاى, impf. يَذَاى, inf. ذَاؤًا, is used of a branch when it is withered, but some of the sap remains in it. Al-Asma'i disallows ذَوَى [the form which Tha'lab wishes to guard against], but Abu Obaida cites the authority of Yūnus for its being classical.

Abu'l-'Abbās [Tha'lab] is wrong, too, in stating that it is equivalent to جَفَّ,¹ because الدَّأَى means what has been made to wither but has not yet become dried up (لَمَّا يَجِفَّ). In that condition it is called الدَّأَى, or المَوْزِنُ,² or الذَّوَى. The following verse of Dhu'r-Rumma makes the meaning clear:—

¹ The words أَئِى جَفَّ to which Abu'l-Qāsim here takes exception are not found in the text of the Fasīh as edited by Barth.

² MS. المَوْزَى.

وَأَبْصَرْتُ أَجَّ الْقَنْعِ صَارَتْ نِطَافُهُ فَرَأَشًا وَأَنَّ الْبَقْلَ ذَاوٍ وَيَابِسُ
(Tawil.) *And I beheld that the pools of the swamp had given place to mud, and that the vegetation was withered and dry.*

Now if ذَوًى had been equivalent to جَفَّ, Dhu'r-Rumma would not have said ذَاوٍ وَيَابِسُ. [L.A. gives the difference between يَبِسُ and جَفَّ thus: Of a thing in which the moisture is organic, when it has become dried up, you use يَبِسُ; of that in which the moisture is accidental you use جَفَّ.]

In illustration of مُؤَذِّنٌ² in the sense of 'that of which the wells are drying up,' we have the verse of ar-Rā'i:—

وَحَارَبَتِ أَلْهَيْفُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَأَذْنَتْ مَدَانِبُ مِنْهَا اللَّدُنُّ وَالْمُتَصَوِّجُ³
(Tawil.) *The hot south-west wind strove with the north wind, and the watercourses began to dry up, some of them being still moist, others parched.*

So also in the case of the first word, i.e. نَمَى, يَنْمَى, there are two forms. Abu Yūsuf [Ibn as-Sikkīt], a few words from the beginning of his section on words of four letters pronounced with و, or with ي [Islāh al-Manṭiq, MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 31a, l. 7], cites نَمَا, impf. يَنْمَى or يَنْمُو. Abu'l-'Abbās, however, gives only يَنْمَى⁴, and says nothing regarding يَنْمُو, which is thereby [wrongly] deprived of its right to be regarded as

¹ L.A., arts. ذَوًى and قَنْع, reads الْقَنْع; so also S., art. قَنْع.

² MS. مُؤَذِّنٌ.

³ S., L.A., T.A., s.v. صَوِّج. L.A., T.A., also s.v. أَذْن.

⁴ MS. يَأْتِ أَبُو الْعَبَّاسِ الْيَنْمَى; but it is suggested on the margin that وَلَمْ should be inserted.

pure.¹ Abu Yūsuf [l.c., line 17] quotes from Abu Obaida—and someone else gives it on other authority—"نَمَا, impf. يَنْمُو or يَنْمِي; from which is the phrase اَلْحَدِيثُ اِلَيْهِ اَنْمُوْتُ *I traced the story back to him*; in the impf. اَنَا اَنْمُوهُ or اَنْمِيهِ; likewise the phrase² اَلْحَسَبِ اِلَى يَنْمُو or يَنْمِي, *it comes up to the required amount*." So, too, says Abu Zaid. [This contention of Ali ibn Ḥamza's does not seem to be very strongly supported. Ibn as-Sikkī, who is generally quoted as the authority for the purity of يَنْمُو, rests entirely on Abu Obaida. According to the lexicons, al-Kisā'i reports having heard the form only from some of the Bani Salīm; on making enquiries amongst that tribe afterwards he found that they did not know it.]

Chapter on verbs of the فَعَلَ form. نَهَكَ [p. 4, l. 12].

"One says د نَهَكَهُ الْمَرَضُ, *the disease wore him out*; but اَنْهَكَهُ السُّلْطَانُ عُقُوبَةً, *the Sultan punished him severely*."

But نَهَكَ is used in phrases such as the following:—
نَهَكَهُ الْمَرَضُ, *the disease wore him out*; نَهَكَهُ السُّلْطَانُ عُقُوبَةً, *the governor punished him severely (wore him out by punishment)*; نَهَكْتُ الثَّوْبَ لُبْسًا, *I wore out the garment*; نَهَكْتُ الْمَالَ اِنْفَاقًا, *I diminished the wealth by expenditure*; نَهَكْتُ الدَّابَّةَ سَيْرًا, *I wore out the beast of burden by journeying*. In all equally Stem I is used. [S., L.A., etc., support the use of Stem I in such senses, but the usual

¹ MS. كَشَمَا? وَيَنْمِي فِي فَصَاحَتِهَا كَسَمَا?

² MS. الْحَسْبِ.

form of the verb is given as نَهَكَ.] E.g., 'Otba ibn Bujair al-Hārithi has the verse

إِلَى جِذْمٍ¹ مَالٍ قَدْ نَهَكْنَا سَوَامَهُ وَأَعْرَاضًا فِيهِ بَوَائِي صَحَائِحُ
(Tawil.) *To a stock of camels whose value we have worn down, but in which our profits are lasting and sure.*

Another poet says : لَيْسَ بِمَنْهُوكٍ وَلَا بِمَارِضٍ (Rajaz) *he is neither exhausted nor sick.* مَارِضٌ is here used in the sense of مَرِيضٌ. Kuthaiyir, too, has the verse

نَهَكَ الْهَوَاجِرُ وَالسَّرَّاءُ مَجْدَاتَهَا فَعْيُونُهَا كَمَدَافِعِ الْأَوْسَالِ
(Kāmil.) *The noonday heats and pimply-rash wore out their vigour, and their eyes were like channels of trickling water.*

مَجْدَاتٌ is here equivalent to شِدَاقٌ, *vigour*.

أَشَدَّ النَّهَكِ with acc. means 'he wore out vigorously' (أَشَدَّ النَّهَكِ [but I have not seen the infinitive form نَهَكَ elsewhere]). From this the brave man is called نَهِيكٌ, because يَنْهَكُ عَرَفَهُ², i.e. he is excessive in his fatigue (or perspiration). Ya'qūb [Ibn as-Sikkīt]³ places this word in the section on

¹ ٢, MS حدم. I have not found this verse elsewhere, and am doubtful both as to text and rendering.

² The copyist states on the margin that this is found in the original, but quotes from the Ṣiḥāḥ, where the derivation of the meaning is given as لَأَنَّهُ يَنْهَكُ, because he vigorously overcomes his foe, so too in L.A., etc.

³ Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq, fol. 45b, l. 21. The passage may here be quoted:—

باب ما جاء على فَعِلْتُ فكان هو الصحيح الذى لا تتكلم العرب
بغيره وقد نَهَكُهُ عَفْوُهُ أَنَّهُ نَهَكَ وَنَهَكَ وقد نَهَكَ المَرَضُ
يَنْهَكُهُ نَهَكَ وَيَقَالُ أَنَّهُ نَهَكَ من هذا الطعام أى بالغ فى أكله
ومنه قيل للشجاع نَهِيكٌ لانه يَنْهَكُ عَدُوَّهُ أى يبالغ فيه

words which have the *فَعَلَ* form (with kesra) only; and adds that one says *إِنَّهَكَ مِنْ هَذَا الطَّعَامِ*, i.e., exert yourself in the eating of it (eat it greedily). But I think that in regard to this word Abu'l-'Abbās has made a mistake, and that one says *نَهَكَ نَهَكَةً*, he wore it out to some extent, just as one says *جَزَعْتُ مِنْهُ جِزْعَةً*, I cut a part from it. [? Does this imply that *عَقُوبَةٌ* in the above-cited phrase is a kind of cognate accusative?] Al-'Ajjāj has the verse

لِحِقْنٍ مِنْهُ نَهَكَةً وَأَضْمًا¹

(Rajaz.) *They met with strenuousness and rage from him.*

Chapter on verbs of the *أَفْعَلَ* (fourth) form. *حَاكَ* [p. 15, l. 2]. "He struck him, but the sword *made* no impression on him (*أَحَاكَ*, Stem IV, or *حَاكَ*,² Stem I, being used)."

But *حَاكَ* (I) is used only of walking and weaving. In illustration of this sense we have the following Rajaz verses:—

حَيَاكَةً وَسَطًا الْقَطِيعِ الْأَعْرَمِ³

(A woman) swaying in her gait amidst the mingled herd
(i.e. a herd composed of sheep and goats).

حَيَاكَةً تَمْشِي بِغُلَظَتَيْنِ⁴

(A maiden) swaying as she walks (decked) with a couple
of necklaces.

¹ MS. *اعما*.

² *وحاك*, which Abu'l-Qāsim here quotes as from Tha'lab, and which is the object of his criticism, does not occur in the text of the *Fasih* as edited by Barth "

³ S., L.A., s.v. *عزم*.

⁴ S., L.A., s.v. *علط*. L.A. names Hubainat ibn Ṭarīf as the author.

إِذَا تَمْشَى تَحِيكُ

(Hazaj?) *When she walks, she sways in her gait.*

[There are two verbs, *يَحْكُ حَاكٌ*, meaning 'to weave,' and *يَحِيكُ حَاكٌ*, meaning 'to walk with a certain straddling, rocking gait' (cf. Ibn as-Sikkīt Tahdhīb al-Alfāz, p. 280). The sense of weaving attached to the latter on the authority of al-Laith, is declared by al-Azhari to be a mistake. The sense of 'to make an impression on' is attached to Stem I by Jauhari and usually in the lexicons.]

يدى [p. 15, l. 3]. “أَيَّدَيْتُ عِنْدَ الرَّجُلِ يَدًا”, *I did the man a service* (Stem IV used)."

But *يَدَيْتُ* (Stem I) is used also.¹ In regard to this many have been in error before Abu'l-'Abbās. We have pointed this out in dealing with the *Islāh al-Manṭiq*, and have cited the verse

يَدَيْتُ عَلَى آئِنِ حَسَّاسٍ² بَنٍ وَهَبٍ بِأَسْفَلِ ذِي الْجِدَاثِ يَدَ الْكَرِيمِ

(Wāfir.) *In the lower part of Dhu'l-Jidāt I reached to Ibn Hashās ibn Wahb a generous hand.*

[This verse occurs in *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 90. Tibrizi, in his commentary, says that both Stem I and Stem IV are used in this sense, but that IV is the more common. S., L.A., etc., support the use of Stem I in this sense.]

¹ انما يُقَالُ يَدَيْتُ بِغَيْرِ الْف. To translate انما by 'only' would be too strong.

² So in MS., with note on the margin that it stands so in the original, but in S. stands حَسَّاسٌ (art. بَدَى). So also in *Ḥamāsa*, p. 90.

Chapter on Infinitives. حَرَّ [p. 20, l. 3]. "Abu'l-'Abbās gives the verb in the sense of 'to be hot,' used of the day, etc., as حَرَّ, impf. يَحْرُ, inf. حَرًّا¹; whereas used of slaves in the sense of 'to become free,' it is حَرَّ, impf. يَحْرُ, inf. . . . and حرية."²

But the usage is حَرَّ المملوك, *the slave became free*, impf. يَحْرُ, with kesra. [This is not corroborated by any of the authorities cited by Lane, nor have I been able to find it elsewhere.]

طَوِيل [p. 23, l. 2]. "Abu'l-'Abbās gives the sing. as طَوِيل or طَوَال, the plur. as طَوَال, no other form being permissible."

But this assertion that no other form besides طَوَال is permissible is a mistake, because طَوَال and طَيَال are both used with the same meaning.

[So in Ṣiḥāḥ; but the form طَيَال is generally not approved of. According to Ibn Jinnī (v. Lane, L.A., etc.) it occurs as an alternative in one verse only, viz.:

تَبَيَّنَ لِي أَنَّ أَقْمَأَنَةً ذِلَّةٌ وَأَنَّ أَعْزَاءَ الرِّجَالِ طَيَالُهَا

It became clear to me that stoutness was a defect, and that the strongest men were those who were tall.

Cf. Kāmil, ed. Wright, p. 54, where this verse occurs. The form طَبَال is there given as an alternative to طَوَال, but though permissible is not approved of.]

عَرِقُ النَّسَا [p. 24, l. 9].

¹ Faṣih, ed. Barth, adds a second infinitive, حَرَارَةً, which is here omitted.

² Space left in MS. as if another form of the infinitive were to be supplied before حرية. Faṣih ed. Barth gives simply حَرَارًا.

This phrase is wrong, because نَسَا is a [particular] vein [viz. the saphenous vein in the thigh], and therefore the genitive relation with عِرْقُ is not admissible (ولا يقال عِرْقُ). [A criticism which is also made by az-Zajjāj (v. Barth's note), but rather pedantic, especially as Tha'lab is simply pointing out the proper vocalisation of نَسَا, with fatha, not with kesra.] Illustrating the meaning of نَسَا, we have the verse of Imru'ul-Qais—

فَأَنْشَبَ أَظْفَارُهُ فِي النَّسَا فَقُلْتُ هُبَلَتْ أَلَا تَنْتَصِرُ¹

(Mutaqārib.) (*The dog*) fixed his claws in the thigh-vein (of the quarry), and I said (to my horse), "Bereavement take thee! wilt thou not surpass (him)?"

Another poet says:

وَالْكَبِيرِ رِيَابُ² أَرْبَعُ الرُّكْبَتَانِ وَالنَّسَا وَالْأَخْدَعُ (Rajaz.)

Aghlab has the verse

مِنْ الْجَيْمِينَ³ أَرْبَابِ الْقَرَى لَبَسَتْ بِهِ وَاهِبَةٌ وَلَا نَسَا⁴

(Rajaz.) (*He had come*) from the Lujaimites (?), lords of the bare land where there is neither rib nor thigh (place of the نَسَا).

Chapter on words whose first vowel is kesra. [p. 27, l. 13].

¹ Imru'ul-Qais, 19, v 22; Arnold, "Diwans of Six Ancient Arabic Poets," p. 127, Diwan ed. De Slane, p. 43, l. 15.

² I have not been able to find an appropriate rendering for this form. Is the text correct?

³ MS. الْجَيْمِينَ.

⁴ Cf. Agh. xviii, p. 165:

مِنْ الْجَيْمِينَ أَصْحَابِ الْقَرَى لَيْسَ بَدَى وَاهِنَةٌ وَلَا نَسَا

Abu'l-'Abbās gives the forms *إِنْفَعَة* with the *ح* doubled, *إِنْفَعَة* without the doubling, and *مَنْفَعَة*.¹ But *مَنْفَعَة* is not used. [In *Sihāh* *إِنْفَعَة* is given as the proper form ; but both *إِنْفَعَة* and *مَنْفَعَة* are cited as permissible, and in all the lexicons the latter is given as a form.]

خَلَب [p. 29, l. 1]. “ After quoting the verse

يَا بَكْرَ بَكْرَيْنِ وَيَا خَلَبَ الْكَبِدِ أَصْبَحْتَ وَبِي كَذْرَاعٍ مِنْ عَصْدٍ²

Abu'l-'Abbās says that the *خَلَب* is what is between the *زِيَادَة* and the liver.”

But the *خَلَب* is to the liver what the *شَعَاف* (*pericardium*) is to the heart ; that is to say, it is the caul or covering membrane. Some say that the *خَلَب* is the same as the *زِيَادَة*. In illustration we have the verse of Zubarqān ibn Badr—

وَأَجْعَلْ كُلَّ مُضْطَهِّرٍ أَتَانِي يُرِيدُ السَّطَرَ بَيْنَ حَشَى وَخَلَبٍ

(Wāfir.) *And I placed every wronged one who came to me desiring help between the viscera and the خَلَب (i.e., as we would say, ‘took him to my heart’).*

Now consider carefully this saying of Zubarqān's, and the error of Abu'l-'Abbās will appear. For if the *خَلَب* were what is between the *زِيَادَة* and the liver it could not stand beside *حَشَى*. I should prefer to make the *خَلَب* equivalent

¹ The quotation from Tha'lab differs somewhat from Barth's text, and runs thus :—

وَهِيَ إِنْفَعَة الْجَدَى مُشَدَّدة الْحَاءِ وَإِنْفَعَة بِالْتَخْفِيفِ وَمَنْفَعَة أَيْضًا

Notice that this last form *مَنْفَعَة*, which is the object of the criticism, is not found in Barth's text.

² Translation of the verse in Barth.

to the زيادة. The first opinion, however [viz., that it is the membrane which covers the liver], was that of Abu Mālik'al-'A'rābi, who is reliable, learned, and accurate.

[With the above verse of Zubarqān cf. the verse

يَاهُنْدُ هُنْدُ بَيْنَ خَلْبٍ وَكِدٍ

cited in L.A., quoting from Ibn al-'A'rābi, who gives the meaning of خَلْب as 'the membrane which separates the heart from the liver.' From the different explanations given of the word in the lexicons (cf. Lane, s.v.) it seems to me that what is referred to is the upper part of the peritoneum which invests the visceral organs, more especially that part of it which invests the liver. The peritoneum, after leaving the front wall of the abdomen, passes backward along the under side of the diaphragm, and is then folded back along the upper side of the liver. It forms the covering of the liver on its upper, forward and under side, from which latter it is reflected as a layer of the lesser omentum to the stomach, and to other organs. This covering of the liver seems to be specially the part referred to. Fat is deposited on this membrane, especially between the liver and the stomach, and this fat would also be included in the خَلْب (cf. Heb. חֶלֶב). Possibly the word may be extended to the covering of the other visceral organs and to the omentum (v. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," p. 379, note).

According to Lane, the زيادة is the falciform ligament. If this be so, Tha'lab's description of the خَلْب might also refer (rather vaguely, it is true) to the membrane covering the liver. But the meaning of زيادة is doubtful. It is

probably synonymous with the Heb. **תֶּחֱלֵב הַכֶּבֶד** (Ex. xxix, 22; cf. Lev. iii, 4; ix, 10), which is usually taken to mean some fatty portion near the liver (v. Dillmann on Lev. iii, 4), but this is questioned by Moore (art. "Sacrifice" in Encyc. Bib., col. 4206).]

ثِفَالٌ [p. 30, l. 8].¹ "ثِفَالٌ is the skin or cloth placed under the (hand) mill upon which the meal falls."

Properly 'upon which the grain falls.' Were it the meal which fell upon it, Zuhair would not have said

فَتَعْرُكُكُمْ عَرَكَ الرَّحَى يَثْفَالِهَا².

(Tawīl.) *And it (war) frets you as frets the mill with its sheet or skin* [i.e. when it is grinding; for the thifāl was placed under the mill only when in operation (v. Lane s.v., where the verse is quoted). Abu'l-Qāsim would seem to be here under a misapprehension. In the verse of Zuhair the people are no doubt compared to the *grain* which is to be ground, but that does not support his contention that the ثِفَال catches the grain as it falls; cf. 'Amr, Mu'allāqa, v. 31, and Noldeke's note thereon, "Fünf Mu'allāqāt übersetzt und erklärt"].

Chapter on words with ḍamma as first vowel.

[p. 32, l. 6]. "The thing that is eaten [i.e. cheese] is called

The more correct form for that which is eaten is **مَيْسٌ**

¹ This is put down as being in the same chapter, but in Barth's edition it is in a new chapter, that on the forms **فَعَالٌ** and **فَعَالٌ**, with a difference of meaning. **ثِفَالٌ** = a slow camel.

² Zuhair's Mu'allāqa, v. 31.

with the *n* doubled. The form without the doubling occurs, however, in poetry, as in the Rajaz verse

كَأَنَّهُ قَعَبٌ نُضَارٍ مِثْلِي أَوْ جُبَيْثَةٌ مِنْ جُبْنٍ بَعْلَبِكْ¹

Like a golden vessel of Mecca; or a lump of Baalbec cheese.

[This differs from the consensus of authorities in Lane, according to which the form without the doubling is the most approved, while the other is rare, and is said by some to be used only in case of necessity in poetry.]

Chapter on words which vary in meaning according as they have kesra or damma as first vowel. حَبْوَةٌ [p. 34, l. 4].

“حَبْوَةٌ² has the sense of ‘gift,’ while حَبْوَةٌ² is the noun from the verb اِحْتَبَأَ (to rest oneself by clasping the arms round the knees while sitting on the ground).”

In the sense of resting حَبْوَةٌ is also used.

[This is supported by Lane and the lexica ultimately on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt. Mubarrad, in the Kāmil, says that the noun is pronounced either with kesra or damma, while pronounced with fatha the word is the infinitive of the verb.]

Chapter on common figures of speech. رَابٍ [p. 41, l. 7]. “أَرَابٌ³ is used of a man when he gives cause for annoyance.”

¹ Cf. Yāqūt, i, p. 674, where نُضَارٍ is read instead of نُضَارٍ.

² MS. gives حَبْوَةٌ in the first place and حَبْوَةٌ in the second. but this is evidently a slip.

³ MS. inserts غَيْرِ مَهْمُوزٍ, which is not in Barth's text of Fasih, and contradicts the form أَرَابٍ which is given. Probably Abu'l-Qāsim read Stem I instead of IV.

Rather, one says رابنى فلان (I), *a person annoyed me*, when there is a definitely known ground of annoyance ; whereas أرابنى (IV) is used when one only surmises it. Cf. the verse

أَخْوَكَ الَّذِي إِنْ رَبَّنُهُ قَالَ إِنَّمَا أَرَبْتُ¹ وَإِنْ لَا يَنْتُهُ لَنْ جَانِبُهُ

(Tawil.) *Thy brother is he who, if thou annoy him, says, "Thou hast only made me suspect trouble from thee" (i.e., thou hast not given me any real cause for annoyance ; I only thought so), and if thou treat him gently, becomes gentle. [Or, if we read أَرَبْتُ : Thy brother is he who, if thou annoy him, says, "It is I in whom is the cause of annoyance," etc.*

Cf. Lane, art. ريب, where the verse is quoted and the two explanations given. The better reading seems to be أَرَبْتُ, and the verse supports Tha'lab's statement rather than Abu'l-Qāsim's. This intransitive sense of Stem IV (= to be ذو الريبة, the person in whom is the cause of annoyance) seems to be the most in favour. Siḥāḥ says that the Hudhail use it transitively, equivalent to Stem I.]

Chapter on words with two forms: بغداد [p. 41, l. 14].

"The forms بغداد and بغدان are used [as the name of the city Baghdad], and it may be masculine or feminine."

The form بغدان also occurs in poetry that is genuine, as e.g. in the verses

¹ MS. أَرَبْتُ. But if this be read the verse would support Tha'lab's statement rather than Abu'l-Qāsim's. L.A., s.v. ريب, reads أَرَبْتُ (quoting from Ibn Barri?), but remarks that the proper reading is أَرَبْتُ. Cf. also T.A., s.v., and Ḥamāsa, p. 363.

لَا سَقَى اللَّهُ إِنْ سَقَى بَلَدًا صَوْبُ غَمَامٍ وَلَا سَقَى بَعْدَادًا
بَلَدَةٌ تَمْطُرُ الْعُبَارَ عَلَى النَّاسِ كَمَا تَمْطُرُ السَّمَاءُ رَدَادًا

(Kafif.) *Allah does not water—if rain from the clouds
water a country, it waters not Baghdad;*

*A land which rains dust upon the people as the heavens
rain drizzle.*

The root of the word is foreign [i.e. Persian, according to Yāqūt, from *بغ*, the name of a god, and *داد* = to give; or from *باغ* = a garden, and *داد*, a man's name (?)].

رُقَاق [p. 42, l. 13].

“You say ‘I have a slave who bakes coarse bread (غَلِيظٌ) or fine (رَقِيقٌ)’; but if you use a noun like *جَرْدَقٌ* cake, then corresponding to it you use رُقَاق, that being likewise a noun.”

This is not correct, for *فُعَال* is an¹ adjectival form as well as *فَعِيل*. One uses طَوِيل or طَوَال, long; خَفِيف or خَفَاف, *sprightly*; سَرِيع or سُرَاع, *swift*; cf. the verse

تَخْدِي بِهِ سَلْهَبَةً² سُرَاعَةً.

(Rajaz.) *A swift lithe (camel) hurried along with him.*

So also one uses رَقِيق or رُقَاق. [This is made good against the distinction implied in Tha'lab's statement that رُقَاق is a noun, while رَقِيق is an adjective.]

¹ MS. inserts لا, which disturbs the argument. It is probably a repetition of the two last letters of *فعالا*.

² MS. سلحبة. L.A., art. *سرع*; reads تَعْدُو for تَخْدِي, and attributes the verse to Amr ibn Ma'dikārib.

Moreover, the Arabs apply to bread the form مُرَقَّتٌ also ;
Abu Kabla (?) has the verse

بَرِيَّةٌ لَمْ تَأْكُلِ الْمُرَقَّقَا وَلَمْ تَذُقِ مِنَ الْبُقُولِ الْقُسْقَمَا

(Rajaz.) *A waste in which you get no thin cakes to eat, and of vegetables do not even taste the pistachio-nut.*

Jarīr said :

تُكَلِّفُنِي مَعِيشَةَ آلِ زَيْدٍ وَمَنْ لِي بِالْمُرَقَّقِ¹ وَالصَّنَابِ

(Wāfir.) *Thou dost impose upon me (to maintain thee in) the style of living of the people of Zaid ; but who will supply me with cake and sauce ?*

To which Farazdaq replied :

فَإِنْ تَعْرَكَ² عِلْجَةُ آلِ زَيْدٍ وَيُعْزَكَ³ الْمُرَقَّقُ¹ وَالصَّنَابُ
فَقَدْ مَا كَانَ عَيْشُ أَبِيكَ مَرًّا يَعْيشُ بِمَا تَعْيشُ بِهِ الْكَلَابُ⁴

(Wāfir.) *If (to furnish) the bannocks of the people of Zaid grind thee, and cake and sauce be beyond thy reach, Formerly must thy father's life have been bitter living on the fare of dogs.*

القَوْمُ أَعْدَاءٌ وَعِدَى⁵ [p. 43, l. 13]. “You say *عدو*, the people is hostile, but if you add the feminine termination you say *عداء*.”

¹ Margin quotes reading of Sībāh, بِالْأَصْلَائِقِ, here and also in the verse of Farazdaq which follows. So also L.A., art. صَنَاب. These verses are quoted and explained by an anecdote in Agh. vii, p. 60, and in Kāmil, p. 89.

² Agh. تَفَرَّكَ ; Kāmil, تَفَرَّكَ, variant فَرَّكَ.

³ Agh. يَعْجُزُ.

⁴ Agh. last half-verse thus. كَرِيهَا لَا يَعْيشُ بِهِ الْكَلَابُ.

⁵ MS. عدا.

Abu'l-'Abbās is not accurate in this passage. In the sense of hostile you use as plural of the adjective the forms عَدَى, عَدَى, and أَعْدَاءُ synonymously, but the form عَدَى,² with kesra only, when they are foreigners. The poet says :

إِنَّا كُنْتُمْ فِي قَوْمٍ عَدَى لَسْتُ مِنْهُمْ
فَكُلْ مَا عَلِقَتْ مِنْ خَبِيثٍ وَطَيْبٍ³

(Tawil.) *When thou art amongst a foreign people, to whom thou art not related, eat what is set before thee, foul or good."*

[The special meaning of عَدَى (stranger) is supported by al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 178; Hāmāsa, p. 377; Ṣiḥāḥ and lexica generally. According to Ibn as-Sikkīt (Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq, fol. 23), it is the only example of the form فَعَلَ in adjectives. So says also Sibawaih, § 511 (v. Jahn's translation and note), who, however, says that it is not really a plural, but a collective (but cf. Lane). Kāmil (l.c.) does not support the form عَدَى in the sense of hostile; and it is disallowed by al-Asma'i (quoted L.A. xix, p. 262, middle). But it is given by Ṣiḥāḥ, etc., probably originally on the authority of Ibn al-'A'rābi, with citation of the verse of Akhtal—

¹ MS. distinctly points عَدَى, but I have not been able to find this form elsewhere, and L.A. gives the gist of this remark thus وفال على بن حمزة قوم عَدَى أَى عُرَكَاء بالكسرة لا غبر فاما في الأعداء فيقال عَدَى وعَدَى وعَدَاءُ.

² MS. عدا.

³ Cf. Ṣiḥāḥ, L.A., s.v. عدا. Kāmil, p. 178, l. 3. Ibn as-Sikkīt, Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq, fol. 23, l. 9

أَلَا يَا أَسْلَمِي يَا هَيْدُ هَيْدَ بَنِي بَذَرٍ وَإِنْ كَانَ حَيًّا نَا عِدَى آخِرَ الدَّهْرِ

in which عِدَى may be pronounced either with kesra or damma.]

حنك الغراب or حلك العراب [p. 44, l. 2]. "The phrase is حنك الغراب, ¹هُوَ أَشَدُّ سَوَادًا مِنْ حَلَكِ الْعُرَابِ, *It is more intense in its dark hue than the blackness of the raven*, or حنك العراب, though the form with lām is the more common."

The latter is to be rejected; Abu Hātim, Ibn Duraid; and others did not recognise it. The proper expression is حلكُ حنكُ العراب. The opinion of those who say that حنكُ العراب is the raven's beak [مِنْفَارٍ; so Ibn as-Sikkit; Tahdhīb al-Alfāz, p. 234; Ibn al-Anbārī, Addād, p. 104; and lexicæ generally] is to be rejected and not recognised. [Cf. Barth's note and Lane s.v., where the contradictory testimony is given.]

Chapter on single words : منتن [p. 44, l. 11].

In saying (merely) "أَلَشَيْءٌ مُنْتِنٌ, *the thing is stinking*," he has of necessity made a slip, for the Arabs use both مُنْتِنٌ and مُنْتِنٌ. Sibawaih says the pronunciation مُنْتِنٌ is due to the influence of the kesra² Abu Hānifa gives the phrase رِيحٌ مُنْتِنَةٌ, or مُنْتِنَةٌ, *an unpleasant smell*, and adds that "the kesra with the mīm is accidental, the ground form being

¹ Freytag · Arab. Prov., iii, p. 249.

² MS. قال سيبويه انما قالوا منتن اتباعا للكسرة كما قالوا انا احرک. وانسوك. The latter part I have not been able to decipher satisfactorily, nor have I found the reference in Sibawaih. It evidently refers to the fact that in the imperfect of verbs in kesra the preformative letter is often pronounced with kesra also. Cf. Wright, 1, 60.

with ḍamma. The people of the Hījāz pronounce it مُسْنِنٌ; but the Tamīm say مَسْنِنٌ, assimilating the first vowel to the kesra."

درع [p. 45, l. 1]. "دِرْعٌ in the sense of coat of mail (دِرْعُ الْحَدِيدِ) is feminine."

But دِرْعٌ in this sense is not inherently feminine, for it is sometimes made masculine, as in the verse of Ru'ba, مَقْلُصًا بِالدِّرْعِ ذِي آلَتَعَصْنِ, (Rajaz) *girt with the coat of mail folded (to the body)*.

توت or ثوث [p. 45, l. 11]. "The word is ثُوثٌ with tā."

But Abu Ḥanīfa [ad-Dīnawari] said, "the word is ثوثٌ¹ with thā." Some of the Arabs say توت, but it is not heard in poetry except with thā; and that is also rare, because it is scarcely used among the Arabs except when the mulberry (فِرْصَاد) is mentioned. The following lines are, however, attributed to an Arab:—²

لَرَوْضَةٍ مِنْ رِيَاضِ الْحَزْنِ أَوْ طَرْفٍ مِنْ الْعَرِيَّةِ³ حَزَنٌ⁴ خَيْرٌ مَحْرُوثٍ
أَحْلَى وَأَشْهَى لِعَيْنِي إِنْ مَرَرْتُ بِهِ مِنْ كَرْخِ بَعْدَادِ ذِي الرِّمَانِ وَالْثَوْتِ

(Basīf). *A green spot midst the rugged ground, or a tract of the waste, rugged and untilled, is sweeter and more desirable to my eye, if I pass by it, than the Karkh of Baghdad with its pomegranates and mulberries.*

¹ MS. ثوث.

² L.A., s.v. ثوث, gives the author's name as محبوب بن أبي العَشَّاطِ الشَّهْشِي.

³ L.A. الْقَرِيَّةِ.

⁴ L.A. حَزَنٌ.

One authority says that the people of Baṣra call the tree *الفرداد*, the mulberry-tree, while its fruit they call *الثوت* with *thā*. It is related of al-Asma'i that he said *توت* in Persian, but *توت* in Arabic. The first opinion, however [that of Abu Ḥanīfa], is the correct one.

[The consensus of authority would appear to be against this and in favour of *توت* as the proper form: cf. *Siḥāḥ*; L.A.; T.A., s.v.; Harīri, *Durrat al-Ghawwās*, ed. Thorbecke, p. 66.]

حائِر [p. 47, l. 1]. "That which the generality call *أَلْحَيْر* is properly *أَلْحَائِر*, and the plural of it is *حَيْرَان* or *حُورَان*."

The word is *الحائِر*, as he says, but it has no plural, because it is the name of a place, the burial-place of al-Ḥusain, the son of Ali¹ (the favour of Allah be upon them both).² *حَيْرَان* is the plural of *حَائِر*, which signifies a pool in which the water swirls (*تُحْبِرُ*) and goes to and fro. *حَيْرَان* and *حُورَان* are plurals of *حُورَاء*, a camel-foal. Cf. the verse of Jarīr:

يَلْغُ رَسَائِلَ مِثْلًا خَفَّ مُحْمِلُهَا عَلَى فَلَانٍ لَا يَحْمِلُنَ حَيْرَانَا

(Basīt.) *Deliver messages from us, of which the bearers shall hasten along on ostrich-like camels, which bear not foals.*

Chapter on Distinctions (between synonyms); the last word, by which he closes the book.

¹ This passage is quoted by Yāqūt, *Geog. Dict.*, ii, p. 189.

² From a passage in the author's criticisms on the *Iṣlāḥ al-Mantiq* it appears that he was a Shi'ite.

• Yāqūt, l.c., عَمَّا.

سُحْد [p. 50, l. 4]. "For that (the excrement) of animals that have hoofs one uses the word سُحْد."¹

Abu'l-'Abbās is in error in this statement which he makes concerning سُحْد, for سُحْد means the yellow-coloured fluid which accompanies the foal when it is delivered. The Arabs say that it is the urine of the foal in its mother's womb. Some of them call it رَهْل. This which we have set down is the opinion of Ibn Duraid in the Jamhara, and is the correct one. Abu Bekr [Ibn Duraid] adds, "It is said of one أَصْبَحَ مُسْحَدًا," i.e. he appeared sallow in the morning. From Khārija ibn Zaid ibn Thābit is reported the statement that "no night-time in the life of Zaid was like the night of the 17th of the month of Ramaḍān, and he used to say 'It was a night on the morning of which Allah abased Polytheism, and it appeared with سُحْد upon its face'" (i.e. appeared sallow and sickly).

Abu Obaid al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, in the Ghārīb al-Muṣannaf, speaking of الأحمر, records that it includes السَّابِيَاء, the 'water-bag'; المَحْوَلَاء, the secondary membrane; الصَّادُ (similar to الصَّفَاء²) the water which accompanies it; and السُّحْد. From this a man is said to be مُسْحَدٌ when he is languid from disease or other cause. But سُحْد is properly the thick fluid that accompanies the fœtus. Very nearly the same is recorded

¹ So MS., and Abu'l-Qāsim has evidently read this, but Barth reads in the text سُحَّت.

² وَمِثْلُ الصَّفَاء, i.e. of the same form. According to L.A., however, this was pointed out as an error and admitted by Abu Obaid. The proper form is given as الصَّاءُ, L.A., s.v. سِيَاء.

on the authority of Ibn Duraid, and this statement is the correct one. No other scholar, so far as I know, gives as his opinion what Abu'l-'Abbās here says ; and if you do see it (stated) on anyone else's authority, pay no attention to it.

Finished, with praise to Allah, and by his help.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

FORMOSA UNDER THE DUTCH. Described from Contemporary Records. With Explanatory Notes and a Bibliography of the Island. By Rev. WM. CAMPBELL, F.R.G.S., English Presbyterian Mission, Tainan. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 1903)

The island of Formosa has come much more prominently into notice since it was ceded by China to Japan in 1895. For many learned articles and books on the subject, published in China as well as in England, we are indebted to the industrious compiler of this handsome volume of 630 pages, a missionary in South Formosa from 1871. These are enumerated among the rest in an almost exhaustive and most useful "Bibliography of Formosa," which is appended, extending over 55 pages, and giving many references to periodicals in addition to the titles of more important works. There is an analysis of the *Peking Gazette*, for example, with a summary of all the notices relating to Formosa, Liu-kiu, and the Pescadores from 1872 to 1896. The bibliography is well up to date, including, as it does, the large book on the history, natural productions, and resources of the island by J W. Davidson, U.S. Consul for Formosa, published this year. It is to be regretted that Mr. Campbell "could not venture to make use of his considerable collection of Chinese and Japanese books on Formosa" on this occasion ; and it is to be hoped that another opportunity may occur after his return to his post in the Far East.

The book is mainly a translation of old Dutch writers, extending over the period from 1624 to 1661, when Formosa was under the rule of Holland as one of their East Indian colonies. It is divided into three parts, as explained in the Preface—

Part I. General Description.

Part II. Notices of Church Work.

Part III. Chinese Conquest.

The *First Part* consists of notes on Topography, Trade, and Religion, selected from the *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien* of François Valentyn, with the addition of the best account of the inhabitants which has come down to us from the Rev. George Candidius, the pioneer missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1624. The opening sentence is interesting for the statement that “this large island was called by the Chinese Tai Liu-khiu (that is, Great Lu-Chu, there being also a little Lu-Chu).” It is really described under that name in the Annals of the Sui (A.D. 581–618) and of the T’ang (618–906) dynasties, although the fact has been overlooked by many recent authorities, who date the Chinese knowledge of Formosa from the Ming dynasty early in the fifteenth century. In the Ming Annals it is recorded under the name of Kelung, its principal harbour on the north-east coast, where the modern Japanese capital of Taipei has been recently established.

The *Second Part*, which is rather voluminous, presents a vivid picture of the controversies of the early Dutch divines, and of their somewhat arbitrary dealings with the native converts, who showed but little devotion to the cause when the dreaded pirate Koxinga appeared upon the scene. It ends with the translation of a Sermon, a Formulary of Christianity, and Shorter and Larger Catechisms, all compiled by the Rev. R. Junius, during the years 1629–41, for the use of the native churches. The travels of John Struys, who visited Formosa in 1650, which were done out of Dutch by John Morrison, London, 1684, are quoted in this section, and his familiar stories of men who had tails among the natives

of the south country. One of these savages was burned at the stake for the murder of a missionary, "and we saw his tail, which was about a foot long, and all grown over with hair." M. Terrien de Lacouperie suggested in his *Formosa Notes* in our Journal (July, 1887, p. 455) that these tails were, perhaps, artificial appendages worn for ornament; but Mr. Campbell relates here (p. 547) the case of a healthy-looking child some three years old, which was brought to him with a tail growing from the lower end of its spine. "It was about two inches long, and had a curious wriggling motion, but whether automatic or in obedience to the will of the child, there was no means of knowing."

In the *Third Part* we have a vivid sketch of the adventurous career of Koxinga, and of the events which led up to his nine months' siege of Castle Zeelandia, and culminated in its surrender on February 1st, 1662, translated from 't *Verwaerlooode Formosa* of 1675. This sketch is strengthened by a string of "authentic proofs" garnered from official minutes and other sources. The father of Koxinga was a Fukien trader, Chêng Chi-lung, who had dealings with the Dutch in Formosa and with the Portuguese at Macao, and was baptized by the latter with the name of Nicholas. He next went to Nagasaki, where he married a Japanese woman, and had a son born named Chêng Ch'êng-kung. After this son had succeeded his father in the command of the immense flotilla of war junks raised by him to oppose the invading Manchu Tartars, the Ming emperor bestowed upon him as a special honour his own royal surname of Chu, after which he always signed himself Koxin, the Portuguese form of Kuo-hsing, i.e. "Imperial Surname," and was known to others as Koxinga, which is the same with the honorific *ga* (*yeh*) affixed. Formosa was finally annexed to China in the time of his grandson Chêng Ching-mai, who was compelled to surrender the island, and forced to come to the Manchu Court at Peking, where he was given the title of Count in the twenty-second year of the Emperor Kang Hsi, and 1683 of the Christian era.

The above details are gathered from the Appendix, which

supplements the Dutch accounts by translations of the letters of early Spanish and French Roman Catholic missionaries, quotations from the old China trade reports in the *East India Company's Records*, and from other sources under the following headings:—

- A. The Spaniards expelled from Formosa in 1642.
- B. Early English Trade at Formosa.
- C. Visit of Père de Mailla in 1715.
- D. Count Benyowsky's Narrative of 1771.
- E. Explanatory Notes by the Author.

The last section, in which the author's notes are arranged in alphabetic order, is not the least useful and interesting, but there is no space for further notice. The book is compiled in such a way as to be unavoidably discursive, so that the excellent Index with which it winds up is all the more welcome to the reader.

S. W. B.

THE DEVILS AND EVIL SPIRITS OF BABYLONIA. Vol. I.
By R. C. THOMPSON, M.A. (Luzac, 1903.)

Under this alluring title Mr. Thompson has transliterated and translated a number of Assyrian texts in the British Museum relating to Babylonian and Assyrian demonology. Like some of the other records from the library of the great bibliophile Ašurbānīpal, they are based upon much older texts, and there is good reason to assume that they represent the exorcisms and spells employed in Babylonia at least as early as the third millennium B.C. That the texts will be welcomed by others than Assyriologists is certain, since it is well known that many of the magical practices and superstitions still in existence were familiar to the Babylonians of six thousand years ago, and without pretending to suggest that these owe their origin to Babylonia, it is admitted that the thought of this land exercised considerable influence upon the surrounding peoples.

It is interesting to notice that many of these magical texts are said to be written in Sumerian, and the evidence tends to show that the Babylonians were deeply indebted to the non-Semitic inhabitants of Mesopotamia for many of their supernatural beliefs. Mr. Thompson correctly observes that the Semitic Babylonian took over the Sumerian doctrines "in the belief that his teachers must necessarily understand the supernatural powers peculiar to their own country." It is the older inhabitants who have a better knowledge of the local spirits, and the newcomers, whether they be conquerors or traders, do not know the manner in which to approach or propitiate the local divinities. Similar examples of this phenomenon will occur to everyone,¹ and one is led to infer from experience that these demons of Babylonia are no other than the gods and divinities of the earliest dwellers. It is only exceptionally that the terms in use, even, admit of a satisfactory derivation (cf. p. xxiii).

Of the exceptions, one of the most interesting is the *Ekimmu*, apparently the departed spirit (lit. 'snatched away'). This was the soul of the dead person who was unable to enjoy rest because the customary offerings and libations had not been made. From the evidence it would appear that not only did the *ekimmu*-spirit haunt mankind; it also passed a most comfortless and unhappy time, and relief could only be obtained by exorcism. It will be remembered that in the recently published Code of Hammurabi, the man who was caught breaking into a house could be killed in the breach and buried (in it?), and the man who caused a brander to brand an indelible mark upon a slave was liable to be killed and buried in his own house. It seems probable, therefore, that the punishment consisted, not so much in the infliction of the death-penalty—which is common enough in the Code—but in the character of the burial. In other words, the punishment seems to have extended beyond the grave and was calculated to affect the dead man's spirit-life.²

¹ E.g., a few are cited by G. I. Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore* (London, 1892), pp. 42 sqq.

² Cf. the present writer's *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi* (A. & C. Black), p. 213.

Another interesting class of demons receives the names *Lilû*, *Lilittu*, and *Ardat Lilî*, in which, as Mr. Thompson reminds us, we may recognise the familiar Lilith of the Old Testament. This demon is mentioned in Isaiah xxxiv, 14, which, curiously enough, he has quoted from the A.V. in preference to the R.V. However, neither screech-owl (A.V.) nor night-monster (A.V. marg., R.V.) are plausible renderings, and Mr. Thompson inclines to the suggestion that the name in its original meaning is connected with *lulû*, 'lasciviousness.' This, it is true, is in accordance with the very general belief that the demons have intercourse with mankind, but it would perhaps be more plausible to suppose that the term is a non-Semitic divine name.

As might be expected, there are many details and allusions in these texts to which analogies and parallels may be found, and Mr. Thompson has culled a few, chiefly from Syriac magic lore. We may add that the Mandaitic charms might be worthy of perusal, since, apart from Iranian elements, there are such distinct reminiscences of Babylonia as the Êkurra and Ištars whose names are invoked in exorcisms. It is interesting to find, too, that the raven and the hawk were credited by the Assyrians and Babylonians with the power of dispelling demons. The former, it is well known, is as unlucky in Palestine as in Arabia, and the fact that in these texts it is called "the bird that helpeth the gods" curiously reminds us, not only of the part the raven plays in the story of the Deluge, but also of the ravens of Odin and Flokki.¹

In conclusion, we may note that Mr. Thompson has an important discussion of a text which had been regarded by Prof. Sayce and Dr. Pinches as a reference to the Garden of Eden as it was known among the Babylonians. Other Babylonian illustrations have been adduced,² but none so apparently illuminating as tablet *K* (pp. 200-207). Here is mentioned the dark *kiškanû* that grew in Eridu, in an undefiled spot, whose brilliance was as shining lapis-lazuli; the place was like

¹ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 4018, n. 2.

² See *Encyc. Bib.*, art. "Paradise," § 12.

a forest grove, none might enter therein, and it was at the confluence of two streams. It was the home of the couch of the goddess Id, and within it dwelt Shamash and Tammuz. The *kiškanû* was gathered by certain gods and was used for magical purposes, and Mr. Thompson, in the course of a criticism of the incantation, points out that there are no good reasons for supposing that Eridu was as the Garden of Eden, since the presence of the rivers has only a ceremonial meaning, and he cites texts where the water at the confluence of two streams has greater magical potency. As regards the other arguments by which the theory has been supported, he has some exceedingly plausible explanations at hand, and the impression left is that tablet *K* is very insecure evidence for the view adopted by Sayce and Pinches. The text does not, however, lose in interest on this account, and the story of the *kiškanû*—with its half-lurking resemblance to the Golden Bough—still stands in need of a better interpretation than that which Mr. Thompson himself prefers (p. lxiii).¹

S. A. C.

THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM UPON ISLAM.

A Buddhismus hatása az Iszlamra. Beszéd, tartotta a M. Tud. Akadémia, 1903 Marcius 30^{iki}, Korosi Csoma ünnepén. GOLDZIHÉR IGNÁCZ, R. Tag. Budapest. Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1903.

Professor Goldziher, of the University of Budapest, Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, read an important essay before the Academy of Sciences of Hungary, at a special general meeting held on the 30th of March last in memory of their late distinguished member, Alexander Csoma de Koros.

Professor Goldziher referred to the special merits of the great Tibetan scholar and to the circumstance under which

¹ Mr. Thompson suggests that some species of *Astragalus* is meant. This is supported by the Syriac *kānā*, on which see Low, No. 170. One is irresistibly reminded of the superstitions relating to magical plants, and, as Jensen points out (*Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 249, n. 1), it was probably used as an oracle.

similar celebrations (*this being the second*) would in future be held in his memory by the Academy.

The subject, "On the Influence of Buddhism upon Islam," was well chosen for the occasion. Famous Orientalists have often referred to it. But it has not hitherto been taken up in the thorough manner in which it was treated on this occasion. And we venture to express a hope that the paper may be used by the author as a preliminary step towards a larger and fully elaborated work to appear at no distant date.

Professor Goldziher begins by adducing the widely held opinion that the spiritual life of the furthest West has been mysteriously influenced by the intellectual elements prevalent in the East. These have, in an imperceptible manner, occupied an important place in the popular lore of European nations, even in the Apocrypha and in the hagiology of the West. How remarkable is the place in the history of literature occupied by the legend of Barlaam and Iosaphat, reproducing Buddha's life for Christian readers! And certain strange references conspicuous in the life of St. Thomas can be satisfactorily explained only through the tenets of Buddhism. So also the history of Islam affords constant evidence of the influence of those foreign ideas with which it was brought into contact during its progress. In the sphere of dogma Islam largely followed Greek philosophy; the tendency of its ritual stood under the influence of the religion of Persia; and its canonical law shows the spirit of Rome. The very starting-point of Islam's existence as a State, namely, the Abbasid development of the idea of the Khalifat, shows the idea of kingship reigning in the circle of the Sassanidæ, and every important influence from outside was a new element in Islam's further development.

This receptivity to extraneous influences began to be felt before Islam's worldwide conquests. It seems to have been latent in its very cradle.

Everyone knows of the Jewish and Christian ideas and institutions out of which Islam arose. These were its starting-point, and were acknowledged by the founder

himself as the fundamental principles from which Islam developed. The question is whether, at a later period of its progress, ideas obtained from Indian religion did not also become manifest.

Previous to the rise of Islam there flourished important commerce between Arabia and India. Indian vessels paid frequent visits to the seas that washed the shores of Arabia. But it was not till the actual conquests of Islam that the Arabs came into immediate contact with Indian genius. With the conquests of the followers of Muhammed their religion spread towards Central Asia, where Buddha's religion flourished. At the beginning of the third century A.H. Samanism was called al-Sumaniyeh in Arabic, meaning the faith of Samana or Sramana, an Indian ascetic. And when the Buddhist ritual, particularly the images of Buddha, became known, the new word budd, plural bidadatum, meaning an idol, was received into the lexicography of the Arab language. It was not the ethics or the metaphysical speculation of Sumaniyeh which impressed the Moslems so much as the idol-worship, abhorrent to the puritan monotheism of Islam. It is a remarkable fact that Alexander Polyhistor, 89-60 years before Christ, calls the Baktrian priests *Σαμαναῖοι*.

Although the image-worship of the Buddhists was the chief characteristic apparent to the commoner Moslems, their philosophers became acquainted with at least certain principles of Buddha's faith. Speaking of their philosophical system, the belief in metempsychosis is mentioned as the chief doctrine of Sumaniyeh, and occasionally there appeared isolated Moslim philosophers who believed in it. This dogma may have suggested to them the answer to the painful question: How can divine justice punish with heavy chastisements pious men? The answer was: Because the soul of the righteous had inhabited, in a previous existence, the body of a sinful man. This is the Buddhist Karma.

The progress of intellectual culture during the reign of the Abbasidæ secured some treasures of Indian literature

to the Arabs, through whom they were carried to the far West. It is well known that some of the Indian tales were amalgamated with the ideas of Moslim society, took root in the popular faith, and were incorporated into the "Arabian Nights."

Fatalism may be taken as a characteristic tenet of Islam, reflecting unmistakably the dogma of 'Kismet.' This faith was persistently held by the Hindus from ancient times, and the doctrine of metempsychosis is one of the corollaries of the idea of Fate. When Muhammedan peoples found that in the stories borrowed from Indian sources there lurked a belief agreeing with this tendency of their own, to fatalistic ideas, it was easy to adopt it and to gain thereby a welcome colouring to Moslim's dreary dogmas. The "Arabian Nights" are a rich treasury of fatalistic stories, and the expression that a man's destiny is "written on his forehead" is evidently of Hindu origin. The correct Moslim speaks of a "book," a "well-guarded" book, in which his fate is recorded.

The gradual adoption of foreign ideas progressed hand in hand with the extension of the Khalifat towards the east. Particularly the reign of the Abbasidæ created a settled centre of communication in Baghdad, a town now so insignificant, once so famous. Baghdad lay on the main road which led from China and India to Byzantium, and thence into the western and northern countries of Europe.

Complete conquest of India was effected in the eleventh century A.D. by Mahmud of Ghazni. This afforded ample opportunity to the Muhammedan students of becoming fully acquainted with Indian philosophy. Buddhist pilgrims were doubtless frequent visitors on the borders of India and China: their distant wanderings are well known to history. Balkh, the metropolis of ancient Baktria, became renowned through flourishing dervish monasteries, whose inmates were able easily to study the practices of Buddhism.

At Baghdad, around the Khalifa, there ruled a fanatical orthodoxy. This spirit naturally provoked reaction. Among the movements which caused, in the eighth and ninth

centuries, much anxiety to the 'true believers,' and against which they resorted to persecutions, was the newly risen sect of the Zindiks, a word applied generally to heretics, especially to the class interested in Buddhist philosophy and literature. Among the translations of the second century are found the "Bilauhar va Budasif" and "Kitab al-Bud," by Ibn al-Mukaffa and Abán al-Láhiki. The *zuhd*, renunciation of the world, is the characteristic Moslim name attributed to the Zindik. Quietism is not the spirit of the aggressive religion of Muhammed; on the contrary, the promise of sensual pleasure is carried beyond this world into Paradise.

At that time there arose several paraenetic poets. The most ancient among them was the martyred Salih ben 'Abd al-Kuddus, executed in 783 A.D., who spoke thus:—

"How many pilgrims to Mekka have perished?

"May God destroy Mekka and her buildings.

"May He give no bread to her inhabitants and let her dead be burned."

But the boldest expressions of asceticism are found in the works of Abu-l-Ataliya, a cotemporary of Harun al-Rashid, who suffered imprisonment before his death in 828 A.D. His faith was based upon Indian legends. He taught that: "If you desire to see the most noble of mankind, look at the King in beggar's clothing; it is he whose sanctity is great among men." His son perished similarly. The "Sincere Brothers," notwithstanding their Neo-Platonism, always appeal to Indian moral lessons. Two centuries later appeared Abu-l-'Alá al-Ma'arri (died 1057); he belongs to the most independent thinkers of his age. He boldly attacked the dogmas of Islam, mercilessly criticized the religious authorities, and condemned the policy of the Government as unjust and tyrannical. He points out the intellect and conscience as the true sources of religious life.

Professor Margoliouth¹ and Mr. Reynold A. Nicholson published certain parts of his works, but the most important communication on the subject is the essay by Alfred Kremer

¹ Journal R.A.S., 1900 and 1902.

which appeared in the Transactions of the Vienna Academy, vol. cxvii. Ma'arri lived as a vegetarian, abstained from all animal food, even from milk and honey, and practised celibacy. His ideas of salvation, centre according to Kremer, in the *Nirvana*. It is certain that these principles widely influenced Islam society at that time. No organised Buddhistic sect was formed, but such ideas worked powerfully in the direction of a later movement, *Sufism*.

The Sufi system saved the religion and science of Islam from rigid dogmatism. The religion of heart and mind stood in opposition to dry theological treatises. The Sufis endeavoured to approach the Heavenly by way of the emotions, and hoped to establish religious life, not by empty formalities, but by getting near to the Eternal.

Such was the reaction against the prevailing conditions of Islam, which found relief against materialistic tendencies in asceticism. Hair-splitting dogmatism was replaced by contemplative mysticism. A pantheistic system became developed from excessive fanaticism. Starting from a mystic love of God, it arrived at the conviction that the knowledge of "real existence is in God," "neither is there any life but in God."

In the course of the second century, the Sufi sect established associations on principles difficult to harmonize with the faith as taught in the Moslim schools. Sufi principles passed beyond the walls of their schools into the public ear, and effected considerable influence upon the orthodox faith. Sufism produced extensive literature in various languages; its greatest poets were inspired to write mystic and allegorical works, and the social life of Islam was startled by the appearance of a strange personage—the Dervish.

Sufism cannot be looked upon as a regularly organised sect within Islam. Its dogmas cannot be compiled into a regular system. It manifests itself in different shapes, in different countries. We find divergent tendencies, according to the spirit of the teaching of distinguished theosophists, who were founders of different schools, the followers of

which may be compared to Christian monastic orders. The influence of different environments naturally affected the development of Sufism. Here we find mysticism, there asceticism, the prevailing thought. In Syria we find the Christian, in Central Asia Indian influences prevailing.

From the time when Sufism first attracted attention in the West, its affinity to Buddhism was evident; some people called it Buddhism modified by Islam. Schopenhauer declared it to be entirely Indian in spirit and origin. But when we study its various historical conditions, its phases of development, its manifestations in widely separated regions from Syria to China, and especially since the knowledge of the most ancient literature has rendered it possible for us to understand the prominent points of Sufi character, we are convinced that previous to the Buddhist influences other forces had likewise their share in the antagonistic movement which arose in the midst of orthodox Islam.

In Syria, where Sufism had the earliest organisation, Christianity exercised great influence;—not indeed the ecclesiastical Christianity, but a certain movement in the Church, looked upon as irregular. Thus we may compare the Euchits-Messaliani—the praying monks—with those wandering dervishes who were addicted to the fatiguing lip service called the *zikr*. Their dogma was that prayer stands above every other religious function. They discarded all the goods of this world, going about begging and praying. This sect was started in Mesopotamia in the fourth century A.H.; it still existed in Syria five centuries later. The mode of life of these dervishes faithfully represents the manners of the Messaliani beggars, whose example had a decisive influence upon the Sufis of Syria.

Christian influence is manifest in several passages from the New Testament which are found among the fundamental tenets of Sufism. To mention only two, viz.: Matthew vi, 25–34, and Luke xii, 22–30. It was in Christian environments that the Neo-Platonic systems exercised so important an influence on the development of the ideas of Sufism.

Adalbert Merx showed that there was a Gnostic teacher in the Syrian Church, whose principles were of decisive effect upon Sufism. It was on such grounds, and they are very sound ones, that Mr. Reynold A. Nicholson, in his selected Poems of Shamsi Tebriz, and Professor Edward G. Browne, in his History of Persian Literature, entirely reject any influence of Buddhism upon the development of Sufism, and attribute all its phenomena to Neo-Platonic principles and to the teaching of Gnostics. But those who advance such an opinion do not take into consideration that Neo-Platonism and the allied systems could scarcely reach those regions in the East which proved most receptive to the development of Sufism. And while Islam carried Sufism with it, it may have, and in fact did, supplement it in the course of its invasion of further eastern countries with new elements borrowed from the new surroundings. For instance, in the account of an ancient type of Sufic asceticism, we find traces of tradition connected with Buddha himself. Ibrahim ibn Edhem, who died about 776-8, an exalted patriarch of Sufism, was a renowned pattern of asceticism. The legend speaks of him as a prince of Balkh. On a certain occasion he went out hunting and started a fox, when a mysterious voice warned him that God had not created him to persecute living beings. He at once dismounted and changed garments with his father's shepherd. He bestowed upon the servant his steed and everything he had by him, then withdrew into the desert to drag out his existence as a labourer, performing miracles and giving other proofs of his saintliness.

There is another legend referring to Ibn Edhem's conversion. One of his disciples asked him: "Who persuaded you, being a king's son, to abandon this fleeting world and to take up that which endures for ever?" He answered: "I sat in the hall of my palace with courtiers around me. Looking out of the window I observed a beggar at the entrance of the palace, with a piece of dry bread in his hand, which he soaked in water and seasoned it with coarse salt; he ate it, and drank water. Having thus, apparently, satisfied his

hunger, after saying his prayers, he went to sleep. God so willed that I should direct my thoughts toward that man. I ordered a servant to watch him without in the least interfering, and then let the man be brought to me. And so it happened. When the beggar awoke he prayed again, and made ready to continue his journey. My servant induced him to come to me.

“ ‘The master of this palace desires to speak to you.’ ‘In God’s name,’ answered the beggar, ‘there is no power and strength but of God. Well! I go.’ When he reached my presence and rested awhile, I put the following question to him: ‘Were you hungry when you ate the piece of bread? and were you satisfied?’ ‘I was,’ answered the old man. ‘And afterwards, were you able to sleep without care or sorrow?’ ‘Yes!’ was his reply, ‘I have rested thoroughly.’ On hearing this I pondered and said: ‘How is it that I am not satisfied with what I see and hear? What ought I to do in this world that I may obtain contentment as this beggar does?’ When evening came, I put off my splendid garments and put on hair clothing. I left the royal palace and took to a wandering life like this beggar did.” Then Ibrahim continued the wonderful story of his experiences.

In reading this legend, we receive the impression that this story of a prince becoming an ascetic refers to the life-history of Buddha. Compare the legend of al-Sabti, the son of Harun al-Rashid, the powerful Khalifa of Baghdâd, who for similar reasons abandoned his splendid palace and surroundings, renounced the world, earned his bread with hard manual labour, and ended his life in a poor hut. This legend was inserted in the “Thousand and one Nights.” Noeldeke very rightly declared it to be Buddhistic in origin.

Some of Ibrahim’s sayings are in this respect suggestive. During his wanderings in the desert he met with a soldier, who asked Ibrahim to show him the way to a populous town. Ibrahim led him into a cemetery. “This is,” he said, “the habitation of men.” The irritated soldier struck the Sufi on the head, so that the wound bled. Ibrahim asked God’s blessing upon the man. The soldier, becoming aware of his

violence, begged Ibrahim's forgiveness. "The head which bleeds owing to your rage, I left behind in the royal palace of Balkh, when I saddled the steed of the world, following the love of pomp—that head I carry no more. A man is free when he gives up this world, even before he himself has left it." "If your brother says, 'Give me part of your substance,' and you ask him, 'How much?' then is your gift of no avail; and if he asks you to do him some service, and you inquire, 'Where do you wish me to go?' you have rendered him no assistance. Shun the world as you shun a beast of prey." Such are the sayings attributed to the prince-beggar Ibrahim. He believes the principle of the abandonment of the world, absolutely.

This remarkable legend has an episode which states that the ascetic prince once encountered a young man whom he recognised to be his son. He was much affected, and his eyes were filled with tears; the father's feelings threatened to get the better of him, but he suppressed them. The legend puts into his mouth the following lines:—

"O God! for the love of Thee, I ran away from mankind;
 I made my children orphans, that I might see Thee;
 And if Thou makest it a condition of Thy love to cut me
 in pieces,
 Yet I would turn to no one for help beside Thee."

He left his son, and departing had no other wish than this: that God would cleanse his son from all sin, and help him to fulfil His commandments.

The essential character of these sentiments consists in the absolute renunciation of the world, the entire suppression of the ordinary human sentiments, the abandonment of power and enjoyment in order the better to attain to the only reality.

Along with the ideal Buddhist asceticism, Sufis appropriated some of its outward religious practices also. They noticed rosaries in the hands of Buddhist ascetics. The use of these instruments of devotion, based on the custom of Brahmin fanatics, was especially prevalent among the

Buddhists in the North, with whom Islam came in contact. The Sufi ascetics very soon adopted the practice, and applied it to the formulas of their own creed. Ninety-nine is the canonical number of the names of God; the Muhammedan rosary therefore consists of 99 beads. As early as the third century of Islam we find positive proofs of the use of the rosary, particularly in the East, where Sufi assemblies were numerous. The Ulemas looked for a long time upon the use of the rosary as an innovation, contrary to the traditions of Muhammedanism. The leaders of the religious communities in the East were dissatisfied when the practice was taken up by the people through the example of the Sufis, notwithstanding that it was helpful in repeating the devotional formulas during contemplation. It is characteristic, however, that when Abu-l-Kasim el-Juneid, one of the founders of Sufism, was seen with a rosary in his hand, being questioned how it came that a man of better class should use such an object, "I shall not," he answered, "give up an instrument which helps me to come nearer to Allah." Having learnt this mode of devotion from the Buddhist monks, it spread through the dervishes far and wide in Islam. But as late even as the ninth century it encountered opponents. Sujutî (died in 1505) was obliged to write an apology in defence of the use of the rosary against those who condemned it as a practice entirely foreign to Islam.

Besides these legendary and practical indications we find an affinity between Sufism and the fundamental thoughts and the lessons of Buddhism. The tone of mind and the spiritual tendency of Sufism seem as if the Buddhistic way of thinking had been transferred into the frame of Islam and adapted to it.

We do not wish to imply that Sufism had simply taken over and translated into the language of Islam the ancient Vedānta philosophy, which the Buddhistic system has so successfully developed. For Sufism to become actually a sister of Buddhism it lacked as yet the central pivot. It was not able to concentrate its philosophy around the legend of a holy personality endowed with symbolic importance,

like the Bodhisatva. The Sufi prophets did not learn Buddhist thoughts from written books. They did not translate the Tripitaka into Arabic or Persian. It was from life and by contact with the professors of it that they became acquainted with the philosophy based on Buddha's teaching. They saw the Buddhist monks before them, and found them to be men who were inclined to turn away from the vanities of this world, and who found in the ascetic life a higher level of existence. The Sufis also retired into monasteries of their own and developed the ideal of begging monks. Now, that Buddhist example had direct influence on the formation of Sufic philosophy and practice, is confirmed by the following fact.

In Central Asia, in the town of Balkh, sprang up the first Sufic society. There, before Islam's conquest, Buddhism flourished, and could show pious Moslems many examples in the pursuit of saintly life. We saw that Ibrahim ibn Edhem, whose legend was brought in apposition with the life-history of Buddha, was said to have been a prince of Balkh. This is a notable circumstance.

Other facts of a similar kind have been collected by Alfred Kremer in his "Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams" (Vienna, 1873), a work that will always remain a pioneer study in the research of foreign elements in Islam. He points out that Buddhist philosophy considers as the *summum bonum* the extinction of individual rebirth and the release from pleasure and pain attainable in this life. In Sufism the final aim is fanā, annihilation, mahw, the extinction of individual life.

It is well known that the explanations of the meaning of Nirvana differ. Various answers are given as to the question of the meaning, in this connection, of the phrase 'annihilation.' There is an extensive literature upon the subject. Some declare that 'Nirvana' and 'complete annihilation' are identical, and cannot therefore be attained, while life lasts. On the other hand, Max Müller and others hold that it means perfect quietude of the mind, having no part in the joys and sufferings of this transitory world,

when the knowledge of Ego ceases, when every wish and desire, and craving, when even sensation of pleasure and pain are extinguished. Now let us examine how the word *fanâ* is explained by the Sufis. "When the consciousness of Ego, and of all his belongings is absent," "when an individual is liberated from dependence on means which are capable of bringing him advantage or causing injury," "when he has no aim, no will, but is entirely absorbed in the will of God."

From the last definition we notice that the idea of the Nirvana of the Sufis differs from the Buddhistic meaning in so far that it is combined with the conception of God, evidently in its pantheistic form. The Sufi does not sink into 'nothingness,' but into 'omnipresence,' into universal divinity. When that has happened the personal Ego is annihilated by absorption into the universal divinity. "The *fanâ*," so says a Sufi teacher, "is arrived at when you see nothing and know nothing but Allah, when you are convinced that nothing exists but HE, when you understand that you also are nothing but He, and sayest: 'I am one with God; there exists nothing but God.'" Within the circle of Islam the conception of *fanâ* can, in connection with Pantheism, be understood as absorption into the universal deity. The individuality of man, the Ego, ceases to exist; all individual existence becomes an illusion, a nonentity. According to the Sufis, the individual is not annihilated, but becomes one with God, a drop in the bottomless sea of Pantheism, having no independent existence. This is Nirvana as understood by the Sufis.

So Jelâl al-dîn Rûmî says in the *Mathnawî*, "Without any care and thought of advantage or detriment," and with a characteristic word, this condition is called '*istihlâk*,' the endeavour to attain nothingness, a complete absorption, when man's existence is combined with the universe, when neither space nor time nor any shape reveals its existence, according to the same Mystic poet:—

"I am neither a Christian nor a Jew, nor fire-worshipper nor Muslim ;

I belong neither to the East nor West, nor to the Sea nor to the Earth ;

Neither am I from the order of nature, nor from the revolving spheres,

Neither from dust, nor from water, air, or fire ;

I belong neither to the heavenly throne, nor to the atom of light, neither to an existence, nor to any life ;

Neither to this world nor to any other world, neither to Paradise nor to Hell.

I am not a descendant of Adam or Eve, I have nothing to do with Eden or Rizván ;

My place is in placelessness, my sign is the signlessness ;

I have neither body nor soul, because I am from the body of my beloved.

The dual existence I have thrown away, because both worlds I consider as one.

I search after one, I know one, I see one, I call one ;

Besides this I know that ' O it is He,' ' I am He,' I know nothing else."

He in whom there is the perfect *absence* of separate personality, the submersion into absolute existence, who rises to the permanent reality of the soul, such a one has arrived at the stage of the fanâ, namely, to the stage of annihilation ; he becomes 'al-insân al-Kâmil,' the perfect man. Below this high degree there are many intermediate steps, according to the position one has attained by discarding knowledge of individual existence. Buddhism possesses a rich terminology of the degrees of perfection. Tathāgata is a perfect man, representing the highest degree, to which, according to the ideal of the system, Buddha himself had reached. His followers, who reach the lower steps, are the 'Arhats.' What is said of these has been mostly taken up by the Muhammedan 'veliks,' saints, who through ascetic practices have acquired power over nature's elements. Professor Goldziher has discussed elsewhere the twenty kinds of miraculous power which Muhammedans attribute to their saints.

These conclusions resemble the imaginative power with which Indians invest those who attain the superior degrees of spiritual concentration. They likewise are supposed to possess the power of self-multiplication, of flying across the air, walking on the surface of the water, moving mountains, and to overruling several of the ordinary laws of nature. If Muhammedans attribute similar powers to the 'veliks' and illustrate them by legends cited from the biographies of their own saints, they but imitate Indian exemplars, the original source, from which they have drawn them.

The Sufi as well as the Buddhist Sramana does not attain the *summum bonum* expressed by the 'Fanâ' or 'Nirvana' by the mere determination to reach that end. According to the Buddhist theory, there are eight parts of the road which lead to the final aim. The stations of this long journey are compared to that of the travelling pilgrim, the aim of the journey being one's salvation by attaining Nirvana. It looks as if the Buddhist inspiration were word for word followed by the Sufis. According to their doctrine the perfection of fanâ is preceded by the *tarika* which is reached by single stations on the road of the 'ma'rifat,' the knowledge. The Sufi calls studying 'suluk,' travel. *Abî-al-tarika*, *abî-al-suluk*, or *al-salikûna*, the pilgrims, are Sufi terms. In vulgar tongue every Sufi system is called 'tarika,' in North Africa 'trika.'

This can scarcely be a fortuitous coincidence. According to what has gone before, we cannot see how it can be contended that the 'stations on the road' have not the same meaning in the two systems.

One of the most important of the Sufi stations is that which is called 'Murâkaba,' that is, meditation; from the results of this depends the possibility of attaining the fanâ. The acquirement of this capacity and its permanency in one's soul, is considered the most important preparation for the annihilation of Ego and for the absolute union with 'Him.' In the Buddhist faith, the station called 'dhyâna' or 'samâdhi' means the same. Its meaning according to a faithful translation is: 'absence of all idea of

individuality when Ego meditates'; meditation and the object of meditation are considered as being one. Oldenberg gives it an untranslatable name, 'Nichtirgendetwasheit.'

The Murákaba of the Sufis thus entirely agrees with the Buddhist Samádhi, and the connected ideas also agree. According to the Sufis the best help towards the attainment of the fanâ is the 'khalvat,' that is, loneliness, complete separation from fellow-men. Those who do not adopt loneliness of life are required to submit to a periodical rule of meditation. Different orders of dervishes have different regulations. The order of the Khalvatis requires from its members a yearly seclusion (chilleh) of 40 days, accompanied by fasting. There are other orders like the 'Demirdashi' in Egypt, the rule of which is the 'khalvat' for three days only, during which time the dervishes are obliged to remain speechless. That time is entirely devoted to meditation. Here the Sufis' idea corresponds to the Buddhist Viveka.

As the victorious Islam in Egypt, in Syria, and in other places took up foreign traditions and in due course, under the process of transformation, made of ancient gods Muhammedan saints; in like manner it adopted traditions of Buddhism in countries from which that faith was displaced. Vámbéry cites an interesting case from the historical work of Narshakhi. In the time of that historian (about 944-948) in Bukhara, a renowned seat of Buddhism (Bukhár, in Mongol, means Buddhist temple or monastery, and is probably the Indian word *vihāra*), a great fair of toys and carved work was held twice a year. On such occasions the turnover in toys amounted to 5,000 denárs. Narshakhi was of opinion that this custom is but a remnant of former large fairs held there for the sale of Buddhist statuettes and carvings, for the manufacture of which Bukhara was celebrated.

More characteristic, however, are those phenomena when sacred things belonging to the suppressed religion keep up an importance in the life of the victorious faith. When the power of Islam stepped into Buddhist inheritance, it was

impossible to eradicate from the mind of the new believer ~~the~~ homage paid to certain places and objects; the newcomer explained it in his own way. This transference was not the work of some hierarchical design; but it was the involuntary outcome of the popular mind, and thus the Buddhist saints became the saints of the Islam. This fact appears in the minutest details in the following manner. In Kandahar the followers of Buddha, rich in relics, regarded a waterpot of Buddha with religious devotion; in due course this very waterpot was attributed to Muhammed.

In the island of Ceylon a footprint of Buddha was an object of worship. The faithful of Islam attribute this very footprint to Ali, and nobody is disturbed by the fact that the reverend hero of Islam never put his foot on the soil of that island. Grenard, the companion of Dutreuil de Rhins in his exploring journey through Turkestan, published a most interesting work on the results of his mission, in which he repeatedly mentions the fact that in East Turkestan, where the religion of Buddha was flourishing till the tenth century A.D., and was not finally expelled till three centuries later, a good many graves are now identified with the legendary heroes of the new religion. But these heroes are altogether imaginary personages; some of them are historical indeed, but they did not exist in that part of Asia. The renowned places are but the ancient stupas transferred to Muhammedan proprietors. Thus the local heritage becoming vacant after the expulsion of Buddhism, a Muhammedan saint presented himself and took possession of it. The Muhammedan saint and the religious locality took upon themselves the functions of the extinct Buddhist saint. The sacrificial gift presented by the faithful of to-day at the old shrine, bestows the same advantage and relief to the Moslim as had been formerly bestowed upon Buddha, to the worshippers of the then stupa. The saint of Islam, who is now being worshipped, is aptly called by Grenard "un avatar Musulman de Buddha."

The tradition is imperishable, only its manifestation changes.

T. DUKA.

SYNODICON ORIENTALE OU RECUEIL DE SYNODES NESTORIENS.
By J. B. CHABOT. (Paris, 1902.)

The industrious scholar to whom students of Syriac literature and Aramaic epigraphy are so much indebted has now placed the former under another obligation by the edition and translation of some Syriac MSS. relating to the history of Nestorianism. For the study of the origin and development of Christianity in the East the chief sources are in Syriac. The Nestorian Church, condemned by the Greeks, grew up in isolation and pursued its own paths; strong enough to stand by itself, it was able to resist persecution, and even sent out its missionaries upon proselytising journeys as far east as China. The acts and decrees which were passed by the various Nestorian synods are often cited by Syrian writers, but manuscripts of complete collections are extremely rare, and it is very fortunate that those which have come to light should have been entrusted to so careful a scholar as M. Chabot.

The text which M. Chabot has edited is based upon two MSS., one formerly in the Borgian Museum, but now in the Vatican, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The work has been most conscientiously accomplished. The complete Syriac text has been printed in order that the translation may be controlled, but it is hardly necessary to say that it is only on the rarest occasions that it appears to be open to question. By the addition of numerous notes the value of the work has been greatly increased, and the careful indexes which are appended make the accumulation of material readily accessible. The whole forms one of the most noteworthy contributions to the history of the Eastern Church. In it we may trace the development and successive modifications of Nestorianism from the time when it was under the Greek Church; for the chronology of the patriarchs of the East the acts furnish data of the most welcome kind; and finally, the numerous lists of episcopal signatories will be of great assistance in the study of the internal history of this important branch. It is worth adding that these

documents not only throw light upon the teachings of the Church, but they illustrate contemporary views upon less spiritual matters, such as intestacy, the status of slaves, bigamy, divorce, etc.

S. A. C.

BUDDHIST INDIA. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. (London, 1903.)

It was once pointed out by an eminent Orientalist that the Jātakas constituted a rich treasure-trove for the lore of ancient India. And truly there is not one of his co-workers but will, on reading them, have felt with me the desideratum that this hoard should be duly exploited. There could be no more grateful or attractive work in the field of Indian antiquarianism than a "Life in Ancient India" based on the Jātakas, and amplified by citations from the rest of Buddhist literature, here and there too from Brahminic literature. Such a work would be a fitting complement to Zimmer's "Altindisches Leben" on the Vedic age. But it would have a twofold advantage over that book. In view of the sources at its command, it could penetrate far deeper into the real life of the people. And with regard to dates its task would be far more clearly delimited. The India to be depicted would be that which existed between the eighth and fifth pre-Christian centuries. So much too might be borrowed from the succeeding age to vivify and complete the picture. For Indian life is in a way strongly conservative, and anyone who has had opportunity of observing the being and doing of its inhabitants, even in the present, must be constantly reminded of scenes and descriptions occurring in its ancient literature. Finally, there is this advantage, that the portrayal of Buddhist India can adduce surviving monuments to make visible and tangible the scenes drawn from its literature.

I myself began to make collectanea, in studying Buddhist literature, for such an "Altindisches Leben." Pressure of other work has always thrust me aside from carrying on the task that so strongly drew me, but which called for years

of preparatory studies. Hence I may say that I welcomed Rhys Davids's book with peculiar pleasure, and am specially grateful to the author for his fine work. It depicts the India of "the period of Buddhist ascendancy" in broad well-marked touches, with the fresh and sane judgment of a man who draws from his own rich experience of the people and the land that he portrays. I could only wish that, in the section devoted to social economy, to life in town and country, he could have gone more fully and intimately into details, and brought the folk in their daily being and doing more vividly before us, showing them in their habits and customs, their pleasures, games and feasts, their intercourse in street and market, in field and forest, in house and home. What exquisite genre-pictures are contained in the Jātakas well worth bringing to the reader's ken! And what fine designs do they not offer for monographs on special episodes of ancient Indian life! A sketch on the chase, for example, would be certain to interest every lover of sport. Of such, too, is Hardy's charming sketch on the *samajja* in the "Album Kern." He there started from materials published by Rhys Davids himself on the denotation and connotation of the term *samajja*.

I need hardly point out that nothing of reproach or blame is imputed by the foregoing remarks. Rhys Davids's "Buddhist India" forms one volume in the series "The Story of the Nations," whereby a limited setting was imposed upon him from the outset. To treat the subject in the way above indicated would of course have necessitated thrice as large a compass. But I would insist that it would be hard to find anyone better fitted for that more detailed portrayal of early Indian life than is Rhys Davids, who has both a comprehensive mastery of Buddhist literature and a first-hand knowledge of the country and the people.

In the opening chapters the author gives a brief conspectus of the political situation in India when Buddhism arose. Four kingdoms are chiefly conspicuous, of which Kosala was politically the most influential, till superseded herein

by Magadha. Adjacent to these were patrician republics like that of the Malla clans and the Vajjian Federation. The time was not yet when the whole of Northern India was in the grasp of a sole monarch. Specially noteworthy is the fact, rightly insisted on by the author (pp. 31 foll.), that no knowledge of Southern India and Ceylon appears in the Buddhist canonical literature. This throws light on the relation in time of that canon to Sanskrit literature, e.g. to the Rāmāyaṇa, in which the South plays an important part. But we may also infer that Aryans did not settle in Ceylon in the year of the Buddha's death, as the native sources allege, but at a later date. There are, besides, important chronological objections to that view.

Chapters iii-vi, "The Village," "Social Grades," "In the Town," and "Economic Conditions," introduce us to the material civilization of Buddhist India. With a touch of surpassing skill a picture is hit off in bold features, giving the social and economic essentials. But it is just here at least that I should have welcomed a more detailed account, had it been possible to the author. About twice the space has, in chapters vii-xiii, been devoted to spiritual culture. Domestic life has, no doubt intentionally, not been touched on at all.

Indian society is based on the village community. The Vedic times knew of none but village settlements. The Germanic settlement of the stead (*Hofsiedelung*) was unknown in India. The plan of an Indian village and the relation of the individual paterfamilias to the community is attractively set forth (pp. 45 foll.). There was a markedly communistic vein in the constitution of the Indian village; and every community possessed no inconsiderable degree of autonomy. Its organization excluded great divergence in the economic circumstances of individual families, but secured to all independence and a certain degree of well-being. In such simple comfort of peasant status lived the great majority of the people of India.

Later on our author has somewhat to say about social strata. Besides the four *varṇas* he distinguishes the *hina-*¹

jātiyo, as well as the yet lower aboriginal races of Caṇḍālas and Pukkusas. And over against the aggregate of the ~~free~~ population stood the slaves. That there were no hard and fast lines dividing each *vaṇṇa* is rightly emphasized; but so too is the fact that the four divisions certainly existed. The Buddhist age certainly knew nothing of the caste system as it later developed itself.

The two following chapters treat of civic life and of trade and handicrafts. Descriptions are drawn from the texts, in so far as this is possible, of the plan of the town, of domestic buildings, public edifices, palaces, baths, monuments. Illustrations in every case are given from surviving works of antiquity. In the section on Economic Conditions, the author avails himself of Mrs. Rhys Davids's important "Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India" (J.R.A.S., 1901), with which readers of the JOURNAL are acquainted. Enumeration and description of the various trades, which were in part organized in guilds, is followed by an account of commerce, intercommunication, and coinage. There were stamped coins of copper, but none of silver, and the existence of gold coins is uncertain. Finally, the chief trade-routes are sketched, and such voyages, some of them beyond sight of land, as the Indians then ventured upon.

I have spoken at length on these first chapters of Professor Rhys Davids's book, because they possessed, for me at least, a quite special interest. Far less attention has as yet been given to the economic side of ancient Indian society than to literature and religion. But in the remaining sections as well a whole series of problems are discussed with scholarly disquisition and criticism, notably that on the introduction of writing in chapter vii, and that on the development of a North Indian 'high' diction and *lingua franca*. This last-named factor is no doubt justly connected with that political supremacy which had been won, in the Buddha's time, by Kosala. The Kosala vernacular may be supposed to have furnished the basis for this dialect of culture and commerce. At the same time it may have taken on various idioms in different countries,

much as modern High German takes on a different local colouring in different states of the empire. It is with this commercial dialect, and especially to the form it is assumed to have acquired in Ujjeni and Avanti, that Rhys Davids identifies Pali. Pali, according to him, is a Middle High Indian, in contrast to the Old High Indian of the Vedic language (p. 153).

In the chapter on the literature the author provides the reader, not with a mere enumeration of titles and contents, but with a well thought out characterization. I may especially point to the passage (pp. 182 foll.) where he discusses the epic forms of poetry occurring in the Buddhist canon. Here Rhys Davids touches on questions of far-reaching significance. We may take it from Windisch and Oldenberg that the oldest Indian Ākhyāna was in mixed prose and verse. The direct utterances of the characters concerned were first rendered metrically. The prose narrative was handed on by tradition, but with occasional discrepancies, as was natural, as it was told by this and that narrator. We can only speak of an epic poem when the narrative portions have also been given metrical form. In the oldest epos, therefore, direct sayings occupy a large space, but tend to shrink in process of development as compared with the description of events. Now, Rhys Davids shows in an interesting way how all these preparatory stages in epic poetry are present in the Buddhist canonical literature. In the Thera- and Therī-gāthā we have sayings in verse. The prose narrative, without which they are often unintelligible, is now preserved in the commentary. In other works we have both versified sayings and prose text contained in the canonical writings. And finally there are ballads where both sayings and narrative are put into verse, that is to say, there are the essential elements of epic poems. From these considerations Rhys Davids draws the significant conclusion that the ballad literature in the canonical books must be older than the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.

A special section (chapter xi) is devoted to the Jātaka Book, in which the gradual evolution of the work is fully

and convincingly analyzed. The results are summed up on pp. 206-8. The verses of which the canonical Jātaka alone consists are, I think, only memory-verses, by the help of which the narrator could mark the contents of the story.

Chapters xii and xiii, again, on Religion ("Animism" and "The Brahmin Position"), contain much of general interest. For a knowledge of the popular beliefs of ancient India the Jātakas are of far greater value than the Brahmin literature. Here reign supreme, not the gods created by theological speculation and priestly fiction, but the spirits haunting plain and forest, air and water — Nāgas, Garuḷas, and uncanny hosts of witches and wizards, of ghosts and demons.

The three concluding chapters deal with the three great princes of the Buddhist age — Candagutta, Asoka, and Kanishka. The last pages are occupied with the problem of the decline of the Buddhist doctrine in India. Very justly does Rhys Davids reject the view that Buddhism was exterminated by violence, or its adherents persecuted. The overwhelming majority of scholars are herein unquestionably on his side. The causes of the downfall may be traced partly to certain alterations in the doctrine itself, partly to changes in the 'intellectual standard' of the Indian population. But these again, according to Rhys Davids's judgment, must be taken in connection with the irruptions of alien races into India. The hordes of Scythian barbarians who overran the north-western districts assumed the Buddhist faith, but contributed at the same time to its gradual transformation, to its gradual decay.

One word more as to the illustrations given in the book. It is good to note that they are by no means merely superficial adornments. The choice of them is so adapted as to give visible aid to the discussions in the text. Hence they afford a fitting embellishment to a book as artistic in feeling as it is able in thought.

WILHELM GEIGER.

Erlangen.

E. BLOCHET. LE MESSIANISME DANS L'HÉTÉRODOXIE MUSULMANE. 8vo; pp. x and 192. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1903.)

This somewhat obscure title heads a treatise on Mahdism, the history of which the author endeavours to unfold. Tracing its origin, he comes to the conclusion that it is nearly in its entirety borrowed from notions rife in Persia prior to Islām. He is even more precise, and asserts that the Shiite Mahdism has its roots in Mazdakism and its prototype in the person of Bahrām Amavand. The movement, he says, is due to a reaction of the *génie messianique iranien* against the Semitic spirit, which was hostile to Messianic belief.

Nearly forty years ago A. v. Kremer, in a work¹ which seems to have remained unknown to the author, spoke of the old Asiatic notion of the incorporation of the deity, a notion which, as he points out, originated in India, whence it spread over Western Asia. In questions like this a cautious student always does well to avoid definite statements, unless they are supported by strong arguments. To individualize folklore ideas is hazardous. On the other hand, a catchword like *génie messianique iranien* is hardly a historical factor to operate with. Whence has the author his theory of the Semitic hostility to Messianic belief? He should have given more than the bare assertion.

We often find that certain notions run parallel in the minds of certain peoples, and there is no need to father one on the other immediately, even if on one side the borrowing of details can be proved. Various forms of Mahdism have undoubtedly fed on Mazdakism, but it does not follow that it was so from the very beginning. Mahdism was not even a necessary result of Shiism. The origin of the latter was in the first instance of a political nature, and the religious schism was but a consequence. The author's suggestion "that the Moslims of the West (Damascus) considered the Alide party as strangers to Islām and almost

¹ "Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islām," p. 9.

heterodox" might be expressed differently, viz., that they were aware that the partisans of Ali rejected the *Sunna*, because they considered Ali as the first lawful Khalifah in the place of Abu Bakr. The source of Mahdism is to be sought in the weakness of the Alide party. Messianism is, here as well as in Judaism, hope personified, but the hope of a suppressed minority. When Shiism arose the Jews in Moslim countries had long brought their Messianic hopes into a complete system which found expression in their prayers and various sayings.¹ Is it absolutely certain that the partisans of Ali were quite ignorant of these? M. Blochet denies any influence exercised by Judaism on Islām. This question has been threshed out so frequently that there is no need to bring it up again here. He adduced no new arguments, and it would be interesting to hear what he has to say on the subject.

Notwithstanding this, Arab authors inform us that the first person who is said to have attributed divine honours to Ali was Abd Allāh b. Sabā, a Jew from Yaman. This man probably knew nothing of Mazdak, but it is almost certain that he was reared in Messianic belief. I am under the impression that, if he really used the words "Thou art God," he was much less serious than it sounds, and was probably only guilty of a play upon words. If we consider that, in the Qorān, Allāh is styled *Alīy* (iv, 38; xlii, 51), it is probable that Abdallāh employed such passages to show that the Khalifah shared one of the hundred Exalted Names. This was rather a harmless *bon mot* for a man versed in the method of the Jewish Agādā. Ali was naturally shocked, and banished him from his presence, but when his sympathisers, after his murder, recollected the word, they either saw a deeper meaning in it or at least made capital out of it. The truth is probably that Mahdism, as every great historical movement, was not brought about by one factor, but by many. Among these we must not forget human passion. The honesty of the leaders was frequently

¹ See Ibn Hishām, pp. 286 and 374.

questionable, whilst the majority of followers laboured not so much for the regeneration of the faith as for plunder. The historian's task cannot be successfully carried out if his view is too narrow, but he should equally guard against too great extension.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

ITALO PIZZI, Dott. Prof. *L'ISLAMISMO, MANUALI HOEPLI.*
16mo; pp. viii and 406. (Milan.)

The same. LITTERATURA ARABA. pp. xi and 388.

These two little books supplement each other in their endeavour to give the general reader instructive and attractive handbooks on the history of Islām and Arabic literature. We can say without hesitation that in both cases the author has done full justice to the subjects in hand. He is not only familiar with the sources, but he shows himself an independent scholar, in spite of the many excellent works we now possess on the questions concerned. The introductory chapters of both books, dealing with the historical, spiritual, and literary conditions of Arabia prior to Islām, are as interesting as replete with sound learning, and give the reader an excellent survey of that period. Not quite so satisfactory is the period of early Islām, since the author still adheres to some old but untenable views. According to him Mohammed received this name when a child. The legend of the cleansing of the heart he considers to be based on Qor. xciv, 1-3, although these verses have quite a different meaning. He looks upon the hermit Bahāra as a historical person, and adopts, without criticism, Moslim tradition on the first awakening of Islām. Yet these traditions must be received with the utmost caution, as they are very badly authenticated. He also translates 'Hijra' with the time-honoured 'flight,' although the actual flight from Mecca to Medina was but the terminating step in the real Hijra. Apart from such details the author's representation of Islām is thoughtful and original. Its further development under the Califs and

the great schism are vividly depicted, and illustrated by abstracts from the best authors of the various periods. The reader thus receives a very fair idea of the influence Islām exercised on the Moslim intellect, and is invited to peruse the collateral book, which deals more broadly with the literature proper. Arab poets as well as writers in prose can vie in attractiveness with those of any other nation. To bring its treasures within reach of the educated of every country is no mean merit, if it were only for the sake of showing how much our own culture and study owe to those who wrote in the Arabian language.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

DAS GEORGISCHE VOLK, geschildert von ARTHUR LEIST.
[The Georgian People, described by Arthur Leist.]
(Dresden: E. Pierson's Verlag.)

Up to the present time no work of a popular character, written in a language accessible to Western readers, has appeared on Georgia and the Georgians. The philology and ethnology of this country, which contains such a strange mixture of races, has been learnedly treated by Brosset, Erckert, Uslar, Radde, and others, but the general reader is not likely to betake himself to such sources. Some popular book has long been wanted to tell of the land, the people, and their literature. For such a task Herr Arthur Leist, who has long resided at Tiflis, has every qualification. He is well acquainted with the language of the Georgians, and has published a translation of their epic, "The Man in the Tiger's Skin," about which we shall have more to say anon.

The scenery of this delightful country is of extraordinary beauty; we have the vast Caucasian range, the mountains Elbrouz and Kazbek, and the valleys with the richest vegetation. We cannot wonder that the Russian poets have drawn from it some of their noblest inspirations. Many of the most brilliant pages of Lermontov and Pushkin have been inspired by it. Herr Leist does ample justice

to the attractions of this earthly paradise. The Georgians are said to amount to about one million five hundred thousand people. Their language is cognate with three others, Mingrelian, Lazi, and Suani, and with them alone. In many respects it resembles Basque, especially in the incorporating power of the verbs and the absence of cases in the nouns and adjectives, which are supplied by postpositions. It cannot, however, be classified with Basque, because no word in the two vocabularies is identical. We might rather say that both these languages exhibit an early stage in grammatical structure. The subject is too minute to be discussed in a short sketch like the present, and the reader unacquainted with the Russian language must be referred to the works (in German) of Erckert, who gives us also a fine ethnological map. Perhaps we might say that Herr Leist is hardly abreast of modern philology in his remarks on p. 25. Brosset, the learned Frenchman who devoted his whole life to the study of this intricate language, had only rudimentary ideas of comparative philology, or he would hardly have talked about Georgian being an Aryan language. We are able to gain some valuable information from the writings of such men as Professor N. Marr, of the University of St. Petersburg, and Professor Hugo Schuchardt, of the University of Gratz.

The Georgian language, properly so called, has a very rich literature, which dates from the sixth century A.D. There is a version of the Gospels which is assigned to this century. In a very valuable chapter on the national literature Herr Leist describes its golden period in the twelfth century, when Rustaveli wrote his "Man in the Tiger's Skin," which is to this day the great delight and pride of the Georgian. The poem, which is in somewhat tedious quatrains, might have been written by a troubadour of the West. It is full of knightly deeds and the cultus of women. Some have thought that it was borrowed from Persian, a literature which has greatly influenced that of Georgia. The other influences have been that of Greece and Byzantium. At all events Rustaveli was the ornament of

the court of Tamara, the great queen of Georgia, when the country was in its prime. In fact, it was only completely independent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After this time its glories declined and it fell under the yoke of Persia. When the traveller Chardin saw it in the seventeenth century it had lost all its grandeur and was a vassal state. The literature declined also. The most complete account of Georgian writers is to be found in the works of Professors Tsagareli and Khakhanov, who are both Georgians; but their labours can only be approached through the medium of the Russian language. When Georgia was annexed to Russia in 1801 a revival of the literature took place. This literature no longer turned to the East, but to the West, and since that time many authors of considerable merit have appeared. In a previous work Herr Leist gave us translations into German of some of the lyric poetry, and he has again shown his skill in that direction in the present volume. His translations are musical and forcible; he has the vigour of a Bodenstedt. Perhaps the two most considerable writers of the present time are Princes Ilya Tchavchavadze and Akaki Tsereteli.

W. R. MORFILL.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTE ON HARṢA-CARITA, VERSE 18.

I have read with great interest the papers of Mr. Thomas in the October number of this Journal. Perhaps I may venture to publish this short note on the verse from the *Harṣa-Carita* treated of by him on p. 830.

The verse is—

Ādhyarājakṛtotsāhair=hrdayasthaiḥ smṛtair=api |
jihvāntaḥ kṛṣyamāṇeva na kavītv pravartate || ;

and my literal translation would be—

“Being drawn inward as it were by Ādhyarāja’s achievements, which, remembered though they are, stay in my heart, my tongue does not move forward to poetry.”

Ādhyarāja’s achievements are *remembered*, i.e., they are things of the past; they no longer exist, and could not therefore have any effect on the poet’s tongue; they nevertheless draw the tongue inward, because they stay in Bāṇa’s heart.—It may be noticed that the employment of the adjective *hrdayasthaiḥ* furnishes an instance of the poetical figure *Kāvyaḥṇa*.

For the way in which Bāṇa here uses the word *smṛta*, we may compare the following verse on p. 226 of the *Jātakamālā* :—

Kṛpaṇā bata lokasya calatvavirasā sthitiḥ |
yad=iyam kaumudilakṣmīḥ smartavyaiva bhaviṣyati ||

“Pitiable, alas! is this worldly existence, void of charm on account of its perishableness; for this moonlight festivity *will become a thing only to be remembered.*”

Here it is at once clear that the words in italics are equivalent to 'will certainly pass away.' And similarly, in Bāṇa's verse, the words *smṛtair=api*, in my opinion, mean in effect 'past though they are.' Past though they are, the achievements stay in the heart, and are therefore able to draw the tongue inward.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

November 10th, 1903.

I am much obliged to Professor Kielhorn for his explanation, which, though verbally almost identical with that suggested by me, differs in laying stress on *smṛtair* as an idiomatic equivalent of 'past,' and also in laying an extra stress on the second half of the compound *hrdayasthaiḥ*. It cannot be questioned that the idiom is adequate to the explanation of the passage, though *smṛta* is rather more curt than *smartarya*. But may I suggest that it is itself in origin scholastic and psychological? When we read the phrases *agāt smṛtipatham* (*Indische Spruche*, 7025), *smaraṇapadarīm gamata* (id., 5939),¹ so analogous to such expressions as *kīrtiśeṣa* and the like, we may reasonably suspect that, as in the latter case we have an allusion to a definite doctrine, namely, the survival of fame to the end of a kalpa, so in the former the reference is of an erudite nature. Now we know for certain that memories are held to survive in the mind in the form of *saṃskāras*. May we not therefore ask, where are they? If we could suppose that the Hindus defined as 'outside the heart' those unconscious processes which modern psychologists place 'below the threshold,' and that in the act of recollection these present themselves 'within the heart,' we should have the doctrine required. I must confess that in the Upanishads, perhaps the most likely place, I have not met with such a view. But I do not despair of finding it, perhaps, in one of the tracts on *Smṛtisaṃskāra*. May

¹ Ap. B. and R., s.v. *smṛti*.

I point out that the passage quoted from the *Prabodha-candrodaya* seems to retain its force?

Having alluded to the artificial character of Indian poetical allusions, we may be allowed to note that in the present case, as in many others, the artificiality does not go beyond the form of the expression. The common description of that which is in the heart drawing the tongue inwards and thus preventing utterance is a true and vivid analogy to our expression of the heart being 'too full to speak.'

F. W. THOMAS.

In the October number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. F. W. Thomas submits two notes, in one of which he discusses the interpretation of the word *api* in the verse he quotes from Bāṇa's Harṣa Charita. If the verse is translated in the way it is done in the note the meaning of the little word *api* does give some difficulty. I think the correct translation is to render *api* by 'also' or 'even,' as the commentator does it with the authority of Paṇini. Such an interpretation of the word *api* is not unusual. One more alteration I would suggest is not to translate the word हृदयस्थिः as a verb, which it is not, but to take it as an adjective of उत्साहैः. This word उत्साह is qualified by two adjectives हृदयस्थिः and स्मृतेः which show two different mental states of the author, and in consequence two different kinds of achievements of his hero. The first of these achievements are in his heart, meaning those of which he had personal experience, and the other are those which he remembered. In plain words, it may mean the present and the past achievements. The translation would run thus: "By the achievements of Ādhyarāja which are abiding in the heart and also which are remembered." The small word 'and' need not create any further difficulty. *Api* in this sense is often interpreted by च or अपिच.

Mr. Thomas is again right in thinking that there is a reference to psychological doctrine, as is borne out by this

as well as by the verse he quotes from Prabodhachandrodaya. The definition of *सृति* which he quotes from *तर्कसंग्रह* is of one kind of knowledge only. The Naiyayakas divide knowledge into *अनुभव* and *सृति*. The first is acquired by direct observation and the other is the result of impressions left on the mind. Bāṇa in this verse, and the author of Prabodhachandrodaya in the other, take into consideration and illustrate both these functions of the mind.

References to the doctrines of different Darshanas and especially of the Vyāsa become common in the poetical, dramatic, and fiction works of the latter half of the first decade of centuries of the Christian era. Bāṇa often does it in his Kadambari. The most typical instance of such reference is in Mudrārākṣhaśa of Viśākhaḍaṭṭa.

VISHVANATH P. VAIDYA.

National Liberal Club, London, S.W.

November 17th, 1903.

With reference to the phrases *svargam ārādhay-*, *paralokam ārādhay-*, etc., quoted in our last number, p. 831, from the Edicts of Aśoka, Mr. C. H. Tawney has called my attention to the fact that *paralogassa ārāhagā* occurs several times in the Jaina *Aupapātikasūtra*; see Professor Leumann's edition, p. 67, and index.

F. W. THOMAS.

KĀLIDĀSA AND THE GUPTAS.

About the age of Kālidāsa kindly permit me to add a few more notes to my last letter in the January number of your Journal, 1903.

Dr. Grierson, whose interest in Kālidāsa dates from the seventies (see J.A.S.B., 1876), has rightly drawn attention to the bearing of the passage "*Jugopam = ātmānam = atrasto*" on the suggested connection of Kālidāsa with the Imperial Guptas.

I now find, and I hasten to acknowledge it, that in the important reference to the Huṇas in Raghuvamśa, canto iv, I had already been anticipated by Professor K. B. Pāthak, of the Deccan College (see the Introduction to his edition of the Meghadūta, p. 2, and his article "On the Date of Kālidāsa," J. Bo. R.A.S., vol. xix, pp. 35-43).

In these articles Professor Pāthak was inclined to place the poet in the first half of the sixth century or about A.D. 532-3 (Meghad. Intr., p. 8; J. Bo. R.A.S., p. 41). But after reading my letter, and after discussing the subject with me both personally and in writing, he writes thus in his last letter dated the 16th inst. :—

"I think your opinion that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of the Guptas is correct, and the reasons which you give in support of your view are excellent."

Some points in my last letter require modification.

The words "drākṣā-valaya-bhūmiṣu" (vineyards) point to the Persians being in possession of Kāndāhār and probably lower Kābul. The grapes of Kāndāhār and Kābul were, and are, well known in India (cf. Ain-i-Akbari, trans., i, 65).

The words "lagna-kunkuma-kesarān" (clung with saffron pollens) are decisive. Saffron (*Crocus sativa*) is grown nowhere in India except in Kaśmīr, and in Kaśmīr only in Pāmpar and Paraspur (Ain-i-Akbari, trans., ii, 357, 364; Stein's Anc. Geo. Kaśmīr, J.A.S.B., 1899, p. 122).

There are two readings, in Raghu., iv, 67 :

(1) Sindhu°, Sindhos°.

(2) Vamkṣū°, Vamkṣṇa°, Vamkū°, Mamkṣū°.

In the first reading, by the 'Sindhu' is meant not the main river, but the chief tributary of the Vitastā in Kaśmīr. This 'Sindhu' is considered nearly as sacred as the Ganges (cf. Rājatarāṅgiṇī, i, 57, v, 97-8, Nilamātā; Stein, J.A.S.B., p. 108). Opposite its confluence with the Vitastā lies Paraspur, and about thirty miles off Pāmpar, the two places of saffron cultivation.

The 'Vamkṣū' of the second reading has not yet been

identified. Its name is found in the *Mahābhārata*, *Sabbhā-parva*, Adh. 50 (2), and in *Burdwān* ed., *Anusāsanaparva*, Adh. 165; and also in the *Nāgpur Stone Inscription* of the *Mālava Rulers*, v.s. 1161 (Ep. Ind., ii, p. 188, verse 54). From the description this would appear to be in *Kaśmīr*, the inscription distinctly referring to the 'kuṅkuma' plants on its banks. Whether it is a lake, as the commentator *Cāritravarddhana* explains it, or a river, as Professor *Kielhorn* translates it, there are not sufficient materials to distinguish. Anyhow, it is not a branch of the river *Ganges*, as defined in the dictionary of *Sir M. Monier-Williams*.

The *Huṇas* became masters of *Kaśmīr* during the rule of *Toramāṇa*, if not earlier. The time of *Toramāṇa* is put by *Mr. V. A. Smith* between A.D. 480 and 515 (*J.A.S.B.*, 1894, pp. 186-7), and by *Dr. Hoernle* between A.D. 490 and 515 (*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1889, p. 229, and *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 570). As the *Huṇas* were in *Gāndhāra* in A.D. 465-470 (*Rapson's Coins*, Art. 103, p. 28), and were at that time rapidly overrunning *Persia* and *North-West India*, the earlier date of *Mr. Smith* seems more probable. On *Firūz's* defeat and death in A.D. 484 (*Noldeke*, "Persia," *Encyc. Brit.*, p. 611) or A.D. 488 (*Gibbon*, ch. xl), the *Huṇas* overran *Persia*, and gradually annexed its eastern part; the knowledge of this would not have been likely to reach *India* before A.D. 490. The time of *Raghuvamśa*, canto iv, can thus apparently be put in the last but one decade of the fifth century A.D., or between A.D. 480 and 490.

Some of the objections to this conclusion may as well be considered here. They are taken from the introduction to *Nandargikar's* edition of *Raghuvamśa*, ed. 1897.

The *Huṇas* are, no doubt, mentioned in the great epics (*Mahābhārata*, *Ādi-P.*, Adh. 176; *Sabbhā-P.*, Adh. 32, 50, 51; *Bhīṣma-P.*, Adh. 9; *Sānti-P.*, Adh. 325), and this has been used to make *Kālidāsa's* time earlier than the date of our present text of these passages (p. 120). But interpolatory verses abound in the *Mahābhārata*, and there is no reason why the above verses should not be considered as such. Furthermore, as Professor *Pāth* has observed,

a general allusion to the Hunas along with the Cinas, the Bāhikas, and other frontier tribes is different from the exact location of the Hunas in Kāśmīr.

Vatsabhutti, who composed the Mandasor Inscription dated A.D. 472, is said to have borrowed three verses from Kālidāsa, whom Nandargikar therefore places earlier (pp. 127-129). Of the three, the second can hardly be deemed similar, and therefore borrowed. The first and third look similar, but need not have been borrowed, as they refer to certain common similes which may have probably passed current in that age. Even if the alleged borrowing be admitted, it does not run counter to our conclusions. One was borrowed from Meghadūta and the other from R̥tusinhāra, both being very early works of Kālidāsa, and therefore preceding Raghuvamśa by twenty or thirty years, and thus earlier than A.D. 472. Kālidāsa was primarily of Avanti, and Mandasor is in that tract not far from the capital, Ujjayini; and hence it would not take a long time for Kālidāsa's poems to influence Vatsabhutti.

From a discussion of the laws about theft and inheritance mentioned in Kālidāsa's works, certain deductions are attempted to be made (pp. 129-137), but they seem forced and vague.

In fact, a great poet is, as a rule, the product of a great age, an age in which knowledge has been accumulating, and a brisk activity in literary culture has been going on, or the people's heart has been deeply stirred by momentous events. It therefore stands to reason that Raghuvamśa, "that perfect poem" as Professor Kielhorn remarks, was composed more probably in the great Gupta period—the fifth century A.D.—than in the middle of the sixth century, when the Gupta empire had been shattered and North and West India ravaged by the savage hordes of the White Huns.

MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI.

• *Chinsura (Hughly).*

Sept. 20th, 1903.

"INDIAN RECORDS SERIES" AND "INDIAN TEXTS SERIES."

In June, 1900, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society addressed the Government of India, pointing out the desirability of publishing a series of historical volumes for India, corresponding in some measure to the Rolls Series, the Historical MSS. Commission's reports, and other works of the same nature issued officially in this country.

The suggestion was accepted by the Government, and arrangements have now been made for the publication, under the auspices of the Society, of two series, to be called respectively the "Indian Texts" and the "Indian Records" series, the latter consisting of selections, notes, or compilations from the records of the Indian Government or of the India Office; and the former containing annotated editions or translations of works by Indian writers of importance for the history of India, besides indexes, monographs, dictionaries of proper names, and other materials for historical research. The general intention is to issue two volumes annually in each series during the five years to which the arrangement has been restricted in the first instance.

Professor Rhys Davids will act as Editor of the Texts series, while the Records series will be under the general supervision of Mr. A. N. Wollaston, of the India Office.

The following works have already been arranged for, and will appear in due course :—

Texts Series.

- (1) A collection of historical maps of India.
- (2) An historical index to names and subjects mentioned in Vedic texts. By Professor Macdonell.
- (3) An Arabic history of Gujarat. Edited and translated by Dr. E. Denison Ross.

Records Series.

- (1) Papers relating to the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula, and other events in Bengal, 1756–57. Edited by Mr. S. C. Hill.
- (2) A history of old Fort William in Bengal. Edited by Dr. C. R. Wilson.

A RACE OF FAIR WOMEN.

Persian and Arab travellers of the ninth century A.D. reported at Bussora that there dwelt in the kingdom of Thafek, on the west coast of India, a race of women very fair and beautiful, pleasant companions for a man. "Le royaume de Thafec—où les femmes étaient blanches et plus belles que dans le reste de l'Inde. Massoudi rapporte que les femmes de Thafec n'étaient pas seulement les plus belles de l'Inde; il dit qu'elles étaient citées dans les livres érotiques comme possédant des moyens particuliers de procurer du plaisir aux hommes, et que les marchands qui parcourent les mers orientales les achetaient à des prix exorbitants." So says Reinaud ("Relation des Voyages," p. xcvii-viii), and he discusses at some length who these women may have been. Ibn Batuta, an uxorious traveller, who took a wife in every port, made an unsuccessful inquiry for them. Thafek was a small kingdom bordering on the sea on the west coast of India. After you had sailed past the kingdom of the Balharas, you came to Jorz, and then to Thafek. Thafek must therefore have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Goa. Now when I was at Goa in 1878 I heard precisely the same story. There existed not far off to the south-east a race of women noted for their fairness and their beauty, the descendants of a Portuguese convent of dissolute nuns, who had established a community of Free Love, and were ruled by an abbess. Two of the ship's company went a journey into the interior in search of them, but returned as unsuccessful as Ibn Batuta. Here, then, we have the old legend, surviving in the old locality, but with a slightly altered dress. Local legends do not die; they live for ever. But what was the origin of this legend? Had it anything to do with Nair polyandry? And whence the tradition of a white race? A race of mountaineers in Kaschibya (Mysore?) was called white, and the Japanese were considered fair.

J. KENNEDY.

Nov. 11th, 1903.

DR. HOERNLE'S ARTICLE ON SOME PROBLEMS OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY.

In this Journal, 1903, pp. 545 to 570, Dr. Hoernle has given us his views on some problems of ancient Indian history. And he has solved one of those problems, to his own satisfaction, by attributing certain coins to the legendary king Vikramāditya of Ujjain, whom he has assumed to be identical with a certain real king Vishṇuvardhana-Yasōdharman who, as we know from epigraphic sources, was reigning over the Mālava country in A.D. 532-33.

In respect of the appellations of this last-mentioned king Vishṇuvardhana-Yasōdharman, Dr. Hoernle has said in a footnote on page 550:—"Both names are given to him in the Mandasōr inscription. *Pace* Dr. Fleet (*Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, iii, 155, note 5), the identity is explicitly affirmed by "the Sanskrit phrase *sa eva narādhipati*, 'this very same 'sovereign.' " But, why "*pace* Dr. Fleet"?

I published the Mandasōr inscription in question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xv, 1886, p. 222, and in my *Gupta Inscriptions*, vol. iii. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, 1888, No. 35, p. 150. At the same time I published two other records from Mandasōr, or rather one entire inscription with part of it preserved in duplicate (IA, xv, pp. 253, 257, and GI, No. 33, p. 142, and No. 34, p. 149). This latter record gives only the name Yasōdharman. And, partly for that reason, partly for another reason stated by me (IA, xv, p. 226, note 33, and GI, p. 155, note 5), I then found a mention of two separate and distinct rulers in the names Yasōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana which in the record No. 35 stand in two separate verses. But I did not assert the point in any vehement fashion; I had, in fact, not even any possible reason for doing so, inasmuch as I was bringing to notice newly discovered records which had not formed the subject of any previous discussion at all.

In some remarks published in JASB, lxxvii, 1888, Part i, Proceedings for August, p. 181 f., Dr. Hoernle made the mistake of treating the name presented in the Mandasōr

records as optionally either Yaśōdharman or Yaśōvarman, and preferentially as Yaśōvarman, in spite of a distinct warning given by me in editing the records (IA, xv, p. 255, note 6, and GI, p. 145, note 2). And, in doing so, he made a mistake the influence of which distinctly underlies his proposal, advanced in his article on some problems of ancient Indian history, to attribute to Vishṇuvardhana-Yaśōdharman certain coins which present the different name Yaśōvarman. On that same occasion, Dr. Hoernle accounted for the double appellation by saying that "Yaśōvarman" changed his name to Vishṇuvardhana on "conquering the countries "around him and thus founding an empire and a family,— "possibly of no long duration." Subsequently, Dr. Hoernle asserted more definitely the identity of Yaśōdharman with Vishṇuvardhana, but did not repeat the use of the erroneous name Yaśōvarman (JASB, lviii, 1889, Part i, p. 95 f., and note † on p. 96). And consequently, in making some comments on what he then said, it did not occur to me to notice the erroneous name Yaśōvarman ; but, on the point of the identification of Yaśōdharman with Vishṇuvardhana, while remarking that I had no special reasons to urge against it, I did say that "the question demands further consideration, "before Dr. Hoernle's proposal can be accepted" (IA, xix, 1890, p. 227). Here, again, I did not combat Dr. Hoernle's view in any vehement fashion. And my hesitation to accept it outright was simply natural ; anyone who, having a knowledge of the various subsidiary matters involved, but not glanced at by Dr. Hoernle, will read thoughtfully what he has written in his article on some problems of ancient Indian history, and will note the assumptions, unsupported by facts, which run through it, will recognise at once that a considerable amount of hesitation about accepting his views of early Indian history is unavoidable.

I do not recall any occasion on which I have exhibited any controversial hostility against views propounded by Dr. Hoernle, either on the above-mentioned point or on any other. And, as regards the particular point, at least seven years ago I actually adopted the identification which

he is still asserting in opposition to me; in giving a short notice of the Mālava country in my *Dynasties of the Kanārese Districts*, I said:—“And in A.D. 532–33 it was a part of “the dominions of a king of Northern India named Viṣṇu-“vardhana-Yaśōdharman, who overthrew Mihirakula, and “of whom we have records at Mandasōr” (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. i, Part ii, 1896, p. 312). Why, then, has Dr. Hoernle in his article now under reference made use of the peculiar expression “*pace* Dr. Fleet”?

It is out of the question to attempt a general review of Dr. Hoernle's article indicated above. We should have to take it piecemeal, and explain one by one in detail the fallacies which underlie all the more important parts of it. But a remark may be made. The best proposal that has been advanced for the identification of the legendary Vikramāditya, is that propounded in 1900 by Dr. Bhandarkar; namely, that the original of him is to be found in the Early Gupta king Vikramāditya-Chandragupta II., for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 401 to 413 or 414 (JBBRAS, xx, p. 398): and it was foreshadowed in 1888 by me, but with a hesitation between Chandragupta II. and his grandfather (GI, *Introd.* p. 37, note 2; and see, later, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 579 f.). And a question may be asked. Whence has Dr. Hoernle obtained the territorial name “Kangudeṣa” which he has used on pp. 546, 547; and what country exactly does he intend by it? He would seem to have in view a country the real name of which was Koṅgu. But the Koṅgu country lay on the south of Mysore. And the elephant-emblem belonged to the great Western Ganga princes of Mysore. And, though it is no doubt a fact that the plundering of the Rāshtrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa-Mālkhēḍ was effected, in A.D. 972–73, not by the Paramāra king Muñja of Mālava as was at first thought, but by his father Siyuka-Harsha, still it is quite certain that neither Harsha nor Muñja nor any member of that dynasty extended his conquests to the Koṅgu country, far to the south from Mālkhēḍ, and beyond the territories of the Western Gaṅga princes, who, on the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭas, became independent, and,

until their territories were gradually absorbed by the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, remained powerful enough to withstand any other invasion from the north. It was certainly not by means of an acquisition of the Koṅgu country, that the elephant came to appear on any coins attributable to Sīyaka-Harsha of Mālava.

J. F. FLEET.

ON THE TRUE READING OF THE WORD 'IRMĀS.'

There is a word which was coined by Akbar to signify gifts to his officers, and which, so far as I know, only occurs in the works of Abūl Faẓl and Badayūnī. Abūl Faẓl uses it four times, twice in the Āīn and twice in the Akbarnāma. The two passages in the Akbarnāma are both in vol. iii, Bib. Ind. ed., and on p. 458, four lines from foot, and p. 459, eight lines from top. In both these places the word is printed آزناس, *āznās*. In the Āīn it occurs in Bib. Ind. ed., vol. i, p. 187, six lines from foot, and at p. 193, top line. In both these places it is printed ارناس, *arnās*, but in the errata it has been altered, doubtless under Mr. Blochmann's direction, to ارماس, *irmās* or *armās*. In Badayūnī it occurs once only, viz., at vol. ii, p. 202, eight lines from foot, Bib. Ind. ed., as ارماس, *irmās* or *armās*. In his translation of the Āīn, pp. 250 and 258, Mr. Blochmann has transliterated the word as *irmās* or *armās*, and in a note to p. 250 he regards it as an Arabic word, and as the inf. iv or as the plural of *rams*, a 'grave.' This explanation has been adopted by Mr. Lowe, p. 205 of his translation of Badayūnī.

I submit, with all respect for Mr. Blochmann's great learning and his unrivalled knowledge of Akbar and his times, that the word is not Arabic, but Sanskrit or Hindī, and that the original reading in the Āīn is correct, the word being *arnās* or *armās*, i.e. 'enemy-destroying.' This is, I think, apparent from the explanation given by Badayūnī, who says, in the passage above referred to, that the word means زوال دشمن, *zauāl-i-dushman*, 'destruction

of enemies.' This is exactly expressed by the word *arnās*, and not at all by *irmās* or *armās*, i.e. 'graves.' Akbar did not know Arabic and disliked everything connected with Arabia, and so he was not likely to use an Arabic word. (See Blochmann's *Āin*, 195, 198, and 206.) On the other hand, he was fond of using and coining Hindī words, and Abūl Fazl gives several instances of his changing Persian into Hindī terms. See Blochmann, *id.*, p. 90, and his note 4, where he remarks that the passage shows Akbar's predilection for Hindī terms. Moreover, it is clear from the *Bib. Ind.* ed. and from India Office MSS., etc., that the word has an *n* in it and not an *m*. The *Bib. Ind.* ed. of Badayūnī, unfortunately, is not of much authority, and therefore weight cannot be given to its reading, *irmās*.

For these reasons I suggest that the word should in future be read *ارناس*. Apparently, *arnās* or *arnāsa* does not occur in Sanskrit or Hindi dictionaries, but it is a quite permissible compound. Akbar seems to have used it to mean gifts in money or in kind, and Gladwin translates it by the word 'donation.' In the *Āin*, Blochmann, 250, we are told that Akbar used to give horses to his *Aḥadīs* as presents or as part of their pay, that is, he gave them horses at half-price, the half which was not demanded back being called *arnās*. So also Fath-ullah Shīrāzī suggests, in the *Akbarnāma*, iii, 458, that the collectors of revenue should get half of their *arnās* (salary?) by assignment (*tanḡhuāh*). Probably the use of the term originated in the fact that the horses, or other articles presented by Akbar, were military spoil, e.g., the fruits of the conquest of Gujrat. Or he may have meant that the horses, etc., helped his servants to destroy the enemy.

It only remains to notice that the translation by Mr. Lowe, p. 205, is defective. It was the surplus and not "which was a very good thing" that was made over to the Amīrs as *arnās*, and it was Akbar and not the Amīrs who invented or used the term.

H. BEVERIDGE.

October 24th, 1903.

ANGLO-TURKISH EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CHA'B ARABS
OF THE SHAT EL ARAB.

I should be much obliged for any information as to an Anglo-Turkish expedition against the Cha'b Arabs about the year 1767, or as to where such information could be obtained.

In the Cha'b tribal MS. it says: "1180 occurred the siege by Mohamed Kakhiah and Mr. Zabeida the Frangi, 6th Rabia'-el-Awal."

In Dean Vincent's "Nearchus" it says: "He (Sheikh Salmān) was afterwards involved in a quarrel with the English on account of two considerable vessels which he had taken."

A note to this in the second edition by Sir H. Jones says: "The Dawrack stream was injured by the Cháb Sheikh when he was besieged in the year 1767 (I believe) by the combined forces of the Turks and English."

According to the Arabs, the expedition was a failure, and the European Abu Tawq died, and his grave exists at Felahiah in Daurakistan, Persian Arabia, as also the remains of his earthworks. He was called Abu Tawq because he fought with a gold ring round his neck.

W. McDouall.

Bidborough, Tunbridge Wells.

Nov. 21st, 1903.

THE LAI DIALECT.

In the *Lai* dialect of the Chin tribes living in the hills on the Burma-Manipur frontier, there is a curious use of the personal pronouns that seems worthy of record in our Journal.

The *Lai* is absolutely monosyllabic, all relations being expressed by position, by composition, or, most generally, by prefixes and suffixes.

Each personal pronoun has a full and an abbreviated form; they are—

kéma (*ka* or *k'*) = I.

naugma (*na* or *n'*) = thou or you.

amma (*an* or *a*) = he, she, or it.

Now every finite verb must invariably have prefixed to it an abbreviated form of that personal pronoun which is of the same person as its subject, no matter whether the subject itself is or is not otherwise expressed. If the subject is a noun, then the noun comes early in the sentence; but prefixed to the verb near the end must be the abbreviated form of the third personal pronoun. If the subject is a pronoun, then the longer form of that pronoun may come early in the sentence or may be omitted altogether; but in either case the abbreviated form of the pronoun must be prefixed to the verb near the end.

Thus it is right to say:—

<i>Nangma</i>	<i>zé</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>du</i> ?	} = What do you want?
You	what	you	want?		

<i>Zé</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>du</i> ?
What	you	want?	

<i>Kéma</i>	<i>shí</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>du</i>	} = I want medicine.
I	medicine	I	want	
<i>Shí</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>du</i>		
Medicine	I	want		

<i>Shí</i>	<i>Boi-pa</i>	<i>shí</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pék</i>	<i>lai</i>	} = The doctor will give (you) medicine.
Medicine	master	medicine	he	give	will	

<i>Amma</i>	<i>shí</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pék</i>	<i>lai</i>	} = He will give (—) medicine.
He	medicine	he	give	will	
<i>Shí</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pék</i>	<i>lai</i>		
Medicine	he	give	will		

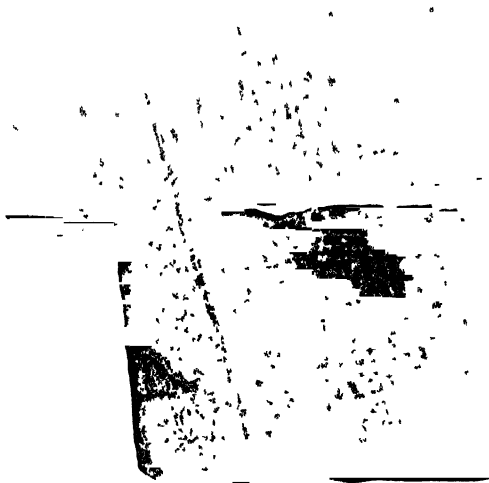
But each of the following forms would be incorrect:—

Nangma zé da du ?
Zé da nangma du ?

Kéma shí du.
Shí kéma du.

Shí Boi-pa shí pék lai.

Amma shí pék lai.
Shí amma pék lai.



TABLETS PRESERVED IN THE ZIARAT OF ZĀHIDĀN

The abbreviated form of the personal pronoun is thus seen to be as essentially a part of the *Lai* finite verb as the 'personal endings' are of Sanskrit or Latin verbs.

H. H. TILBE.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM SISTAN.

I send by this mail two photographs which may interest the Society; one is of some tablets that are deposited in the Ziarat, or shrine of the 44 Pirs of Zāhidān (Chihil-o-chahār Pir-i-Zāhidān). The inscriptions on the tablets are very clear, and refer to Fakirs who lived in past ages. I at one time thought that perhaps the inscriptions might have reference to the Maliks of Sistan, but I was disappointed. There are several of these tablets at the Ziarat, only two of which have been photographed.

The shrine is situated within the limits of the ancient town of Zāhidān, destroyed by Taimur in the month of Shawāl, 785 H. It is surrounded by ruins of houses and heaps of débris, in which lie the skeletons of an innumerable multitude of human beings, victims of the general slaughter decreed by the conqueror.

The other photograph is of the ruined minaret known, from the modern hamlet of Kāsamabad which is close to it, as the Mil-i-ḡāsamabād. The minaret is beautifully constructed of baked bricks, set in the cement which the Persians call sārūj or sārūnj. It is 75 feet in height now, and stands on a square plinth, each side of which is 18 feet square. The diameter of the minaret is therefore 18 feet. The ruins of a staircase exist within the shaft. The inscriptions and ornamentation of the minaret can be clearly seen in the picture. The plinth is 1 foot above the ground around.

No other ruin of the same nature exists in the country. And there can have only been one minaret, for if another had stood close by it, and had fallen down, the tumulus raised by its débris would have been a conspicuous landmark for miles around. Small ruins of walls and buildings exist

in the immediate vicinity of the minaret, and these are probably the remains of some religious foundation that sprang up around the minaret. Judging from its position and the fact of its being a solitary building, I am disposed to think it might have been erected to commemorate a victory, either over the ancient inhabitants by the first conquerors, or a subsequent victory over the Khawārij, of whom Sistan was full in the early days of the Caliphate. If the former, it does not follow that the minaret was raised then. The site of the battlefield was known, and the commemorative shaft raised subsequently. Perhaps some of the members of the Society could give an opinion, from the architectural details, as to the probable period when it was built. The ancient capital of Sistan in Sassanian times lies about ten miles to the north-east of this minaret, and this spot where the latter is built may have been the actual battlefield where the Marzubān was defeated by the first Muḥammadan conquerors of Sistan in the first century A.H. The plain around this minaret is strewn with débris of bricks and potsherds, and about two miles in a southerly direction from this building is situated the ruined city of Zāhidān. This year, while acting as the Chief Survey Officer of the Seistan Boundary Commission, I have been able to visit and make notes of many ancient sites.

I have mapped the ancient capital of the country; and thus I believe I have located the site of the town of Zaranj. Here also there are the remains of a minaret, of which only about 30 feet exist above the mounds of débris that surround it. This portion is, in plan, an octagon, each side being about 10 feet at the lowest part. About 30 feet from the present ground-level there are traces of a balcony having run round the building, and above this there rose the circular shaft of the minaret, of which only 2 or 3 feet are at present existing. I hope by the time I leave India that I shall have had an opportunity of visiting every site where cities and towns have existed in this country in past centuries.

I discovered the remains of a bridge with brick-arched



MINARET OF KASAMABAD.

waterways. This also was beautifully built of baked brick and sārūj. This bridge is mentioned as having existed at a very early period in the history of this country. It appears in one or two itineraries, and this affords a most excellent starting-point, by means of which other old sites can be clearly identified and accurately placed.

From an archæological standpoint a great deal of good work has thus been done—irrespective of the main object of the mission, of course.

In conclusion, I must ask you to pardon what is rather an untidy letter, but I am writing in camp, with the celebrated “wind of 120 days” giving us a specimen of what it can do when it is really bent on work! and it makes letter-writing a rather difficult matter at the best.

This Winter the Hamun of the Helmand was quite dry, and we watched it fill: a very interesting experience it was.

G. P. TATE.

Karachi, India.

Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, has been kind enough to send the following note on these inscriptions:—

SMALLER INSCRIPTION ON FOUNDATION STONE.

بنى عمارة هذه [sic] المسجد
 ذا شرفة جلالة الملك العادل
 شمس الحق والدنيا والدين ملك على
 [خلد] الله تعالى ملكه في شهر سنة^{٨٤٧}

“This glorious mosque was built by His Majesty al-Malik al-‘Ādil Shams al-Iḥaqq wa’l-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Malik ‘Alī (God perpetuate his reign) in the months of the year [A.H.] 847 [A.D. 1443–4].”

For a notice of Malik Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī, see the History of Sistan, entitled *Iḥyā al-Mulūk*, by Shāh Ḥusain b. Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn (British Museum MS., Or. 2779, fol. 56).

LARGER INSCRIPTION ON A TOMBSTONE.

Epitaph of Ghiyās al-Dīn Shaikh Muḥammad, dated A.H. 850 [A.D. 1446-7].

The lower band of inscription round the minaret of Kāsimābād would seem to record the name of the ruler who built it, for the titles الملك المؤيد المنصور المظفر (al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad al-Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar) are distinctly legible on the photograph.

FITZGERALD'S OMAR KHAYYAM.—According to the *Academy and Literature* of the 11th November, no fewer than twenty new editions of this popular poem had been issued within the preceding three months. Among these may be included a highly meritorious translation into French verse of the well-known English quatrains which has just been added to our library. Very different from the able rendering by M. Nicolas, this is not a mere exposition of a Persian text for the benefit of those who cannot appreciate the linguistic beauties of the original: it is also an attempt to reproduce Omar in his native dress, following as closely as possible the rhyme and style of his accomplished English exponent. It is difficult to determine whether most to admire the elegance and appropriateness of the whole version of M. Fernand Henri, or the skill with which his edition of the poems has been treated, both as regards appreciation of Fitzgerald and his own evident mastery of the English tongue and ideas.

DHAMMAPĀLA.—The British Museum has acquired a good MS. in Burmese character, dated 1764, of this author's commentary on the Cariyā Piṭaka.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1903.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

November 10th, 1903.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

The Rev. Grahame Bailey,
Mr. C. N. Seddon,
The Rev. W. Fyfe,
Syed M. Sheriff,
Mr. M. T. Deen,
Mr. H. B. Rue,
Mr. Lin Chin Tsong,
Mr. S. P. Aiyar,
The Rev. John Bowen,
Sheykh Hasan Tawfiq, and
Mr. E. A. Seaton

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor Browne read a paper on the study of Arabic in Egypt and England, illustrated by a phonograph and by the recitation of an Arabic poem by Sheykh Hasan Tawfiq. A discussion followed, in which Professor Margoliouth, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Hagopian took part.

December 8th, 1903.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. N. E. F. Corbett and
Thakur Joonjar Singh

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor Rhys Davids read a paper entitled "A Point in Historical Geography." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Fleet and Mr. Sewell took part.

II. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the Musée Guimet.

Moret (A.). Le Rituel du Culte divin journalier en Égypte. (Bib. d'Études.) 8vo. *Paris*, 1902.

Kern (H.). Histoire du Bouddhisme. Vol. ii. 8vo. *Paris*, 1903.

Moret (A.). Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique. 8vo. *Paris*, 1902.

Mélanges Annales du Musée Guimet. 4to. *Paris*, 1903.

Presented by the Delegates of the Oxford Press.

Cooke (Rev. G.). Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions, Moabite, Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish. 8vo. *Oxford*, 1903.

Presented by the Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Wichmann (Y.). Die Tschuwassischen Lehnwörter in den Permischen Sprachen. 8vo. *Helsingfors*, 1903.

Presented by the Hakluyt Society.

Beazley (C. Raymond). Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis. (Hakluyt Society.) 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Presented by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

Wiener (S.). Bibliographie der Osten-Haggadah. 4to. *St. Petersburg*, 1902.

Bendall (C.). Çikshāsamuccaya. Pt. iv. (Bib. Buddhica, i.) 8vo. *St. Petersburg*, 1902.

Finot (L.). Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā. (Bib. Buddhica, ii.) 8vo. *St. Petersburg*, 1901.

Speyer (J. S.). Avadānaçataka. Pt. i. (Bib. Buddhica, iii.) 8vo. *St. Petersburg*, 1902.

Presented by the Publishers.

- Brooks (E. W.). The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis. Vol. ii (Translation), pt. 1. 8vo. *London*, 1903.
- Vandenhoff (B.). Exegesis Psalmorum imprimis Messianicorum apud Syros Nestorianos. 8vo. *Rheine*, 1899.
- Blochet (E.). Le Messianisme dans l'Hétérodoxie Musulmane. 8vo. *Paris*, 1903.
- Oman (J. C.). The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India. 8vo. *London*, 1903.
- Teloni (B.). Litteratura Assira. 8vo. *Milano*, 1903.
- Schiaparelli (G.). L'Astronomia nell' Antico Testamento. 8vo. *Milano*, 1903.
- Pizzi (I.). Litteratura Araba. 8vo. *Milano*.
- Islamismo. 8vo. *Milano*.
- Ward (G. E.). The Bride's Mirror. A tale of domestic life in Dehli forty years ago by Shamsululuma Maulavi Nazir Ahmad. 8vo. *London*, 1903.
- Campbell (Rev. W.). Formosa under the Dutch. 8vo. *London*, 1903.
- Davids (T. W. Rhys). Buddhist India. 8vo. *London*, 1903.
- Keith (A. B.). Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS. in the Indian Institute, Oxford. 8vo. *Oxford*, 1903.
- Boer (T. J. de). History of Philosophy in Islam, translated by E. R. Jones. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Presented by Major J. S. King.

- D'Alwis (J.). Attanagalli-Vansa, or the History of the Temple of Attanagalla, translated from the Pali with notes and annotations. 8vo. *Colombo*, 1866.

Presented by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

- Harvard Oriental Series. Rāja - çekhara's Karpūra-Mañjarī, critically edited in the original Prakrit, with a glossarial index and an essay on the life and

writings of the poet, by Sten Konow, and translated into English, with notes, by C. R. Lanman. 8vo. Cambridge, Mass., 1901.

Presented by the Zemindar of Sangamvalsa.

Vadivelu (A.). The Aristocracy of Southern India. 8vo. Madras, 1903.

Presented by Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid.

Henri (F.). Les Rubaiyat d'Omar Khayyam, le poète-astronome de la Perse. 8vo. Paris, 1903.

Bombay Asiatic Society.

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TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
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AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट t	ब b
आ ā	औ au	ठ th	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ऊ ṭ

˙ (Anusvāra) m	˘ (Avagraha) ˘
ˆ (Anundāsika) ṁ	Udātta ˆ
: (Visārga) ḥ	Svarita ˜
× (Jihvamūliya) ḥ	Anudātta ˘
⌘ (Upadhmāntya) ḥ	

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

at beginning of word omit;	ك k	ح c
elsewhere <u>ـ</u> or <u>و</u>	ل l	ع e
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش . s or <u>sh</u>	ن n
ث . . . t or <u>th</u>	ص . . s or <u>z</u>	و . . w or v
ج . j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or <u>z</u>	ه h
ح h	ط t	ي y
خ . h or <u>kh</u>	ظ z	و a
د d	ع e	و an
ذ . d or <u>dh</u>	غ . g or <u>gh</u>	wasla ' .
ر r	ف f	VOWELS. hamza <u>ـ</u> or <u>و</u>
ز z	ق q	ـ a
		ـ u
		letter not pro- nounced ـ

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY	HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	PAKSHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pro- nounced as g k	پ or پ t	خ <u>ts</u>
چ . c or <u>ch</u>		چ or چ d	ج g
ژ . z or <u>zh</u>		ژ or ز r	ن n
گ g	گ ñ		ک <u>kh</u>

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

IX.

AN AHOM COSMOGONY, WITH A TRANSLATION AND A VOCABULARY OF THE AHOM LANGUAGE.

By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT.

THE Ahoms are a tribe of the Tai branch of the Indo-Chinese. They conquered Assam early in the thirteenth century A.D., and held it, as the ruling nation, for many centuries. Their language, which is now extinct, was an old form of the Tai language from which Siamese and Shan have sprung. It is now known by tradition to a few priests of the old Ahom religion. It had a considerable literature (including several valuable historical works), manuscripts of which are still extant. Some years ago the Assamese Government deputed a native official, Babu Golap Chandra Barua, to learn the language and translate such documents as were of value and had survived. He is, I believe, the only person who knows both Ahom and English. Through his assistance I was enabled to publish a short grammar of Ahom (with selections and a vocabulary) in vol. lvi of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Since then I have received from him a short Ahom *kôsa*, or dictionary, and also the text and translation of the cosmogony printed below.

The Ahom religion was a pagan one, but it no doubt

borrowed some of its terms (with its alphabet) from old Burmese. The other members of the Tai family, such as the Siamese, the Shans, and the Khamtis of Assam, have been Buddhists for centuries. This fact gives us a clue to the age of the cosmogony. The name of God used therein is Phā-tūw-chüng. After their migration to Assam the Ahoms abandoned the employment of that name, and used instead Phū-ra-ta-ra, which is that used by their Buddhist relations. The occurrence of the word 'Phā-tūw-chüng,' therefore, points to a date at latest not much after the first half of the thirteenth century A.D. In the account of the cosmogony there is (except in the employment of a few words) nothing to show any connection with Buddhism. Indeed, so far from there being anything Indian about it, the opening verses curiously recall the cosmogony described in the Babylonian tablets. This makes the text of more than ordinary interest.

Like the earlier chapters of Genesis, the text seems to include two distinct accounts of creation, the second account commencing at verse 53.

The author of the book is unknown. It is styled by the Ahoms the *Phe-lung* or "Great Creation." The Assamese call it the *Anādi-pātan*, the creation without beginning, that is to say, "The Creation *ex nihilo*."

Babu Golap Chandra Baruā informs me that the MS. from which the present text is reproduced was found in the possession of a Deodhai (or member of an Ahom priestly family) named Chakradhar Baruā, of Mauzā Gadhulibazār, in the district of Sibsāgar. A somewhat similar, but much shorter, specimen of Ahom will be found in Brown's paper on the *Alphabets of the Tai Language*, in vol. vi (1837) of the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* (pp. 177 ff.). There is a translation of this by Major F. Jenkins on p. 980 of the same volume. The text and translation were reprinted by me in the article in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* already referred to. It differs widely from what is now given, and, moreover, appears to have been based on an incorrectly written copy.

As very few specimens of Ahom writing have reached Europe, I give a facsimile of Babu Golap Chandra Barua's text as forwarded to me, the letters being given half the size of the original. The transliteration is my own, but the translations have been mainly based on versions provided by him.

I have transliterated letter for letter, but as all Ahom writing is very careless, and as the pronunciation does not always follow the spelling even when that is correct, I have, when the word to be read differs from that which is written, also inserted the correct sound in parenthesis. The system of transliteration is the same as that followed in my grammar mentioned above, except that I have represented the inherent vowel by *a* and not by *ā*. In Assamese transliteration this letter is represented by *ā*, because it has the sound of the *a* in the German 'mann,' and not the sound of *a* in Assamese, which is that of *o* in 'hot.' It should be remembered that this letter has *not* the sound of *u* in 'nut.' Moreover, as all Ahom initial vowels are carried in writing on the sign for this vowel, which, in this respect, is used exactly like the Arabic 'alif, I indicate its presence in an initial vowel by an apostrophe. Thus, 'a, 'i, 'u, and so on. A reference to the table of the alphabet in my grammar will make this clear. The only other change is that I have followed the Assamese Government textbooks by representing the sound of *a* in 'all' by *ā*, and not by *ā*, which is the sign adopted in my grammar.

The vocabulary appended is, in the first place, based on the *kōṣa* sent me by Babu Golap Chandra Barua. This gave each Ahom word in its own character, followed by a transliteration into Assamese and a list of Assamese synonyms. In order to secure a double check, Babu Golap Chandra Barua very kindly gave me what he considered to be the English equivalents of the Assamese words. Taking this as a basis, I have rearranged the contents of the *kōṣa*, putting the Ahom words in the order of the English alphabet. To this I have added a large number of words and phrases collected by myself in the course of my reading. Every

word in the *Phe-lung* has also been inserted, with a reference to the number of each verse¹ in which it is to be found. •

It will be noted that each Ahom word has many quite different meanings. These various meanings were originally differentiated by tones, but all tradition regarding these tones has been lost. We possess an excellent dictionary of the younger, but cognate, Shan language, by Dr. Cushing. In this the tones are always carefully registered, and, in order to assist students of philology, I insert in the Ahom vocabulary, whenever I have been able, after each meaning the corresponding Shan word, with its tone in that language. When the Shan word is the same as the Ahom one, I do not rewrite it, but give the tone only.

The following account of the Shan tones is taken from Dr. Cushing's work. The five basal tones are known by numbers. Thus:—

No. 1. The *natural* tone: in the natural pitch of the voice with a slight rising inflexion at the end.

No. 2. The *grave* tone: a deep bass tone.

No. 3. The *straightforward* tone: an even tone, in pitch between Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 4. The *high* tone: more elevated in pitch than No. 1.

No. 5. The *emphatic* tone: an abrupt or explosive tone.

There are three series of these tones, according as the word is pronounced with the lips partially closed (*closed* series, indicated by 'c'), with lips well opened (*open* series, indicated by 'o'), or with the lips moderately open (*mediate* series, indicated by 'm'). We thus see that it is possible for a word to be pronounced in fifteen different ways, i.e. in each of the five tones, in each of the three series. The tone of a Shan word is indicated by writing after it the number of the tone and the letter of the series. Thus *kíp*, 3c, means that the word *kíp* must be pronounced in the straightforward tone with the lips partially closed. It

¹ In using the word 'verse' I do not mean that the *Phe-lung* is in poetry. It is not. I employ the word 'verse' in the sense of a short sentence.

then means 'a screen.' On the other hand, *kip*, 4m, is to be pronounced in the high tone with the lips moderately open, and then means 'to choose'; while *kip*, 5o, is to be pronounced in the emphatic tone with the lips well opened, and then means 'a moment.'

Since my grammar was written, I have come across two very similar signs in Ahom writing which require explanation.

A small hook suffixed to the bottom of a letter is said to give it a prolonged sound. A similar sign is employed in written (but not in printed) Shan to indicate the closed series of tones. Very probably this was the original power in Ahom. An example of its use is the word *ꠘꠞ bâng* or *ꠘꠞ bâng*, the edge of an axe. It will be seen that here the word is written both with and without the loop. *Bâng* should rhyme with 'gong,' while the vowel in *bâng* is longer, like the *aw* in 'yawn.'

The non-initial form of *ā* is usually ꠘ. Thus ꠘ *kā*. There is a loop somewhat larger than the one just described, which is said to be a shortened form of this non-initial *ā*. I have only met it as a medial vowel followed by a consonant, and it is very rare. On the other hand, I have only found the usual form of non-initial *ā* in an open syllable. I am not at all sure that this loop is not also a tone indicator. In every case in which I have met it, it is appended to the vowel *ā*, and the pronunciation of the whole compound is said to be *ā*. Thus, we have ꠘꠞ, written and pronounced *kāng*, poison, but ꠘꠞ, pronounced *kāng*, measure, in verses 41 and 51 of the *Phe-lung*.

I may also note that an alternative way of writing the letter ꠘ *da*, is ꠘ.

I first give the Ahom text of the *Phe-lung*, with a transliteration and word-for-word translation. This is followed by a free translation. The article is concluded by the Ahom vocabulary.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

Phe lung.
Giving-birth great.

Pin (pin) nang jīm (jim) - müw ran-ko tai
Be thus beginning - time layer-establish below

phā pai mī dī.
heaven exist not good.

pai mī lüp - dīn (din) müng shüw tai.
exist not island - earth country level below.

phau (phrau) baw shiw (sheu) rāng müng tüw
anyone not hold uphold country animal

jū.
remain.

kāng (klāng)-to nam-lā-lā rāp jū-koi.
only ocean surround exist-did.

5. bā-'an khung (khrung) nüw pai mī phā.
and highest-part above exist not heaven.

phau (phrau) baw kap-küp phā ngam
anyone not bite-take-by-force heaven beautiful
müng cham koi.
country and did.

tang - ka khak-khan bai shī pau (plau)
all-finished (all) quiet-peace place full void
te-jaü (jau).
verily-was.

müw ran tang ban tang khün jang (ñang) mī
time confused all day all night be not
rū.
knowledge.

phau (phrau) baw rung tang ling (lüng) shāng phā.
not shine all one illuminate Phā.

10. lak jū lak koi shāng.
uncommon remain uncommon did light.

- müng ran tang ban tang khün jang (ñang)
country confused all day all night be
 mī rū.
not know.
- lum pau (plau) tang phun tang lum jang (ñang)
all void all rain all air be
 mī dai.
not get.
- lum phun dai cham phā khau (khou) khaü (khou)
all rain get and heaven they-all enter
 jū chau 'ing te-jau (jau).
dwell Chau body verily-did.
- khan to phā-ko jū shau (shau) rau (rau).
alone solitary Phā (nom.) abide remain air.
15. jū tam kang (klang) rau (rau) lak-koi
remain there middle air shine-did
 kho-koi-jau (jau).
glitter-did-complete.
- man-ko ñang mī pak khan shing (sheng).
he (nom.) be not mouth word speak.
- baw rū kīng (kling) chū müw jang (ñang)
be-not head assume name hand be
 ran-koi-jau (jau).
confused-was-did.
- tün-lun phā-ko jau (jau) poi tün.
then-after Phā (nom.) did then take-shape.
- mùn (mlun)-ta ñang mī han ngam müng.
open-eyes be not see beautiful country.
20. tang-ka tau phā ñang mī shak mī
all-finished (all) land heaven be not place not
 shing (sheng) te-jau (jau).
speak verily-did.
- khung (khrung) phā lüp-müng bai shī-dai.
highest-part heaven island-country place break-get.
- baw mī phī (phri) baw mī phī (phri)-mī
not be-not demigod not be-not demigod-female
 shang shak kūn (kun) koi-jau (jau).
spirit crowd man was-did.

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 ৱৰ্ণ চৌ মৌ নু যন নম নু যৌ নম,
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shang bā kaw-ko lak jū kho baw dī.
Shang say I (nom.) shine remain neck not good.
 phaü (phraü) baw kau jū phā shak 'phū
anyone not I remain heaven near male
 cham koi.
 and did.

25. shang poi kaw-ko lak jū choi chaw.
if then I (nom.) thief remain power supernatural.
 phaü (phraü) baw laü (lau) hūng (hung) rang
anyone not speak fame body
 te-jaiü (jau).
verily-did.

khan to phā-tüw-chung-ko shup kūm (kum)
alone solitary Phā-tüw-chung (nom.) mouth down-drooping
 khai (khai)-chau (chau)-dū.
in-heart-saw.

pāng (plāng) shiñ (shen) khām jū tǎng
consider very-important subject remain belly
 koi-jai (jau).
did-completely.

phā-ko tak bā ko lüp-müng shiñ (shen)
Phā (nom.) word say create island-country very-good
 khung (khrung) dai-jaiü (jau).
highest-part get-did.

30. chang-tak phā-ko naiü-chau (chau) khun-thiw (theo)-kham
then Phā (nom.) breast Khun-thiw-kham
 'aw-'āk.
take-out.

po nang mai ro bāk (blāk)-kīp (kip)-lam.
say like wood shoot-out mushroom.

ngai müng 'āk kai-kai.
light quickly come-out all-about.

ngā-ngā tǎng shiñ (shen) müng ngai phā
many-moles belly very-good quickly light pierce
 'āk khiw-khiw.
come-out very-bright.

khaiü (khai) jang ngam thā khām phā-tüw-chung-ne
all glitter beauty wait word Phā-tüw-chung-from
 püng.
instruction.

35. khup-bai tham kham mung kū-kho.
kneel-down ask news world fear-with.

raw-ko baw rū ban-'āk cham muw'-nau
we (nom.) not know day-come-out (east) and now.

chang-nai raw jū cham pin nang ruw
now we remain and become sit know

cham koi
also may.

chang-tak phā-tuw-chung-ko hau-khau (khau)-pan
Then Phā-tuw-chung (nom) allow-enter-uphold

dau jū muw-nan.
Dēva remain for-ever.

khan to pung (plung) lung jin (jun)-pin pū
word only half one pattern-become crab
 rāng mung shuw tau.
sustain world level bottom.

40. man jang (ñang) jū nuw nam koi jū
he be remain above water did remain
 shau (shau) cham jau.
column and long

khing (khring) khuw (khruw) kwāng (kāng) baw rū
body length breadth not know
 king (kung) shūn (shen) chū te-jau (jau).
measure a-hundred-thousand yuga verily-did.

pung (plung) lung jin (jun)-pin lā-ka shau (shau)
half one pattern-become Lā-ka remain
 rāp jū tam-nuw man koi-jau (jau).
surround exist place-above he did-completes.

poi pung (plung) lung cham jin (jun)-pin
again half one and pattern-become
 thuk-chang rāng-ngā (?) tam shau (shau)-jū
male-elephant tusked upon remain-exist
 man cham jau (jau).
he and did.

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tam-nüw man cham jin (jün)-pin khak khan
place-above he and pattern-become solitary quickly
 kân-phā (phrā)-phuk rû-müng
mass-rock-white (Mēru) head-country (north)
 te-jau (jau).
verily-did.

45. poi pung (plung) lung jin (jun)-pin shai ring
again half one pattern-become thread thousand
 mung rāp phā.
country link heaven.

nāk ran nāng han shang.
weight roll be see not.

dap shiñ (shen) nāng mī shak ming (mling)
emit-light very-good be dark bright firefly
 mī koi-jau (jau).
like did-complete.

poi pung (plung) lung jin (jun)-pin
again portion one pattern-become
 shai-chung-mung shī ching (chung).
thread-god-country (Vāyu) four god.

kân chung-phā nai-cham pak-bai kân-phā-nāi
good Chung-Phā now call-place Kân-phā-nāi
 cham jau (jau).
and did.

50. poi pung (plung) lung jin (jun)-pin
again half one pattern-become
 shai-chung-mung tuw khân.
thread-god-country (Vāyu) animal life.

baw rû kwāng (kāng) shiñ (shen) chū
not know measure one-hundred-thousand yuga
 phiw mung te-koi.
be-in-excess the-world verily-was.

man jang kūng (kung) pung (plung) pun
it glitter bow bring-down island
 tamng (tam-tang) mung.
place-all world.

tam ran phā-tūw-chüŋ shaü (shau) kho te-jäu (jau).
will foundation Phā-tuw-chung remain with verily-did.

poi püŋg (plüŋg) lüŋ jin (jün)-pin cham ' phü
then half one pattern-become and male
 kau kham tū nāu.
spider gold animal gigantic.

55. man mā khī khiñ (khuñ)-bai cham ko
he shed excrement help-place and create
 jün din 'ān phā te-jäu (jau).
solitary earth before heaven verily-complete.

man poi khun-mā nang jauw run-pin
he then rise-up-come difficulty great bring-out-become
 phā ko le-pai lē-mā rung pin
heaven create backwards forwards bright become
 thin bai.
throne smooth.

pin chik pin chäng nang thin
make highest-part-of-heaven make umbrella sit throne
 man te-jau (jau).
he verily-did.

khan to jauw kau-kham-ko lāk-pin phā.
quickly alone gigantic spider-gold (nom.) transform-become heaven.

nā ring bā chu (chū) mung tī pun te-jau.
thick thousand fathom yojana country place world verily-was.

60. pin tang mung lai khäng (khäng)
become all country all thing
 shiñ (shen) lüp-mung te-jäu (jau).
one-hundred-thousand island-country verily-did.

tang-ka khung (khung) phā phäu (phrau)
all-finished (all) highest heaven anyone
 nang kam chaw.
sit be king.

khak khai (khrai) thün jin kün (kun).
lonely solitude fill quiet

käng(kläng)-to 'ai muñ (mui) doi nā tī pun.
only vapour hoar-frost with forest place world.

tün-lün jū müw poi jū ban.
after-that remain time again remain day.

FREE TRANSLATION.

THE GREAT CREATION.

(1) Thus was it in the beginning-time—the foundation below (i.e. the earth) and heaven (*phā*¹) did not exist.

(2) No island or level country existed below (the heaven).

(3) There remained no animal to support the country.

(4) Verily only ocean surrounded (the universe).

(5) And the highest part of heaven (*phā*) did not exist above.

(6) There was no one to quarrel and take possession of the lovely heaven (*phā*) and the country.

(7) All was still and verily was full of void.

(8) Time was confused. There was no knowledge of day and night.

(9) There was nothing to give light except one illuminating *Phā*.²

(10) He remained, giving unusual and extraordinary light.

(11) The country (i.e. the earth) was all confused, and there was no knowledge of day and night.

(12) All was void. Neither rain nor air could be found.

(13) Air, rain, and heaven (*phā*)—they all dwelt in the body of *Chau*.³


(14) Only the solitary *Phā* remained abiding in the air.

(15) He remained in the middle of the air, where he shone and glittered.

(16) He spoke not word by mouth (i.e. He had no mouth to speak with).

(17) He had no head, he assumed no name, he had no hand, and was in a confused condition.

¹ See note to verse 9.

² *Phā* in this cosmogony is employed in two senses. In one it means 'heaven,' and corresponds to the Shan *phā*, 5c (compare verse 1 and elsewhere). In the other, it corresponds to the Shan *phrāh*, 4c, and is the general word for 'God.' It is the Pali-Burmese  *bhu-rāḥ*, a Buddha, nowadays pronounced *pha-yāh*.

³ *Chau*, 'master, owner, king, a *dēva*,' is here translated 'God.' I do not know if it is a proper name or not. Compare verse 61, where it means 'king.'

(18) After that Phā assumed shape.

(19) He opened his eyes, and did not see the beautiful country (i.e. the world).

(20) (He saw that) all lands and heaven (*phā*) were verily not in their places.

(21) The highest part of heaven (*phā*), the islands, and all places were destroyed.

(22) The Phrī (demigods),¹ and the female Phrī, the Shang (spirits),² and the crowd of men were not.

(23) The Shang (i.e. Phā) said (to himself), "It is not proper (that) I should remain alone and give light from my neck."³

(24) "There is not anyone, or any male, to remain with me in heaven (*phā*).

(25) "If I, the supernatural power, remain like a thief,

(26) "Then no one will sing the fame of my body (i.e. offer prayers to me)."

(27) Solitary, Phā-tüw-chung⁴ thought within himself, drooping his mouth downwards.

(28) He considered this most important subject within his belly (i.e. within himself).

(29) Phā said, "I will create the islands, the country, and the highest part (i.e. heaven)."

(30) Then Phā took out Khun-thiw-kham⁵ from his breast.

¹ *Phrī* = Shan *phī*, i.e. a being superior to man and inferior to the Brahmas, and having its dwelling-place in one of the six interior celestial regions. The word *phī*, in Ahom, also means 'a ghost.'

² *Shang* = Shan *hsang*, i.e. a Brahman, a being superior to men and Nats, and inhabiting the highest celestial region. In the next verse the word is used as the equivalent of Phā himself. Note that *shang-bā* means 'if.' In verse 23 the traditional interpretation of *shang bā* is 'Shang said,' not 'if.'

³ This is apparently the traditional interpretation. *Kho* certainly does mean 'neck,' but it also means 'to shine, glitter.' I am therefore inclined to translate *tak-jū-kho* by 'shine-remain-glitter,' i.e. remain brilliant, instead of 'shine-remain neck.'

⁴ *Phā-tüw-chung* is a name of Phā. *Chung* means 'a god,' and *Chung-phā* is used in verse 49 as another name of Phā. In verses 48 and 50 *Shas-chung-mung*, 'thread-god-country,' means 'thread of air,' and is the name of the air-gods identified with the *Vāyus* of Hinduism. I do not know the meaning of *tüw* in *Phā-tüw-chung*. The only meanings I know of this syllable are 'a dwarf, ignorant, an animal.'

⁵ *Khun-thiw-kham* is the name of a god. The component parts seem to be *khun*, 'king'; *thiw*, 'a strong, good-looking person'; and *kham*, 'gold.' In the 38th verse he is called a *Dau*, or *Dēva*.

(31) He shot out as a fungus does from a piece of wood.

(32) Light came out very quickly all round his body.*

(33) On his beautiful belly he had many moles, through which, piercing, a bright light quickly issued.

(34) In all his beautiful sheen he waited for the word of instruction from Phā-tūw-chüng.

(35) He knelt down, and with fear asked for news of the world.

(36) (He said to Phā-tūw-chüng), "And now we do not know where the east is.

(37) "At present we may remain there if we know."

(38) Then Phā-tūw-chüng allowed the Dau¹ to exist for ever.

(39) By (Phā's) word alone, from half² of him (Khun-thiw-kham) there was created a crab to remain straight at the bottom and support the country.

(40) He (the crab) remained above the water as a great supporting column.

(41) The length and breadth of the body (of the crab) would not be known if one were to measure for a hundred thousand ages.

(42) From another half there was created (the serpent) Lā-ka,³ who remained (in the region) above (the crab) and surrounded him.

(43) From another half of him,⁴ there was created a male tusked elephant, who remained upon the crab.

(44) Above (the crab) in the north region there was quickly created the solitary Kân-phrā-phuk.⁵

(45) Again, from another half of him,⁶ there were created thousands of threads to link the earth with the heaven (*phā*).

¹ I e. Khun-thiw-kham. The word *Dau* is identified at the present day with the Sanskrit *Dēva*, God.

² The word *plung* means 'half,' but it is here and in the following verses apparently used to mean 'portion.'

³ Lā-ka, the cosmic serpent. Like the Sēsa of Sanskrit mythology. It does not appear whether the serpent issued from half Khun-thiw-kham or from half the crab.

⁴ Not certain whether the half was of Khun-thiw-kham or of Lā-ka.

⁵ The name means 'mass of white rock,' and is nowadays identified with the Mount Mēru of Sanskrit mythology.

⁶ It does not appear who it was that was halved. Possibly Kân-phrā-phuk.

(46) The weight of the rolls of thread cannot be seen.

(47) They (the threads) emitted an excellent light, bright as that of a firefly in the dark.

(48) Again, from another half, there were created the four (air-)gods (*chung*), Shai-chüng-müng.¹

(49) Good Chüng-phā² now gave them the name of Kân-phā-ñau.

(50) Again, from the half of the Shai-chüng-müng,³ was (the thread of) animal life created.

(51) We should not know (the extent of the thread of animal life) if we were to measure it for a hundred thousand ages. It is far greater than the world really is.

(52) It gleamed like the rainbow sent down to all islands⁴ and places of the world.

(53) Phā-tüw-chüng by his will verily laid the foundation of the work that was with him.

(54) Then from one half there was created a gigantic male spider of gold.

(55) He shed excrement (which) helped to the creation of the solitary earth, verily before the heaven was finished.

(56) Then the spider rose with difficulty and began to weave and create the heaven, going backwards and forwards. It became a bright smooth throne.

(57) He verily made the highest heaven, and the royal umbrella, and the throne (for Phā-tüw-chung) to sit upon.

(58) Quickly, alone, did the gigantic spider of gold fashion the heaven.

(59) Verily in the world there was a country a thousand fathoms and leagues thick.

¹ Regarding the meaning of *chung*, see note to verse 27. *Shai-chüng-müng* means 'thread of God-country,' i.e. 'thread of air.' These four are nowadays identified with the Sanskrit *Vāyus*. It is not certain from half of whom they were created. Possibly the threads.

² Regarding *Chung-phā*, see note to verse 27. The word translated 'good' is *kān*, which is repeated in the first syllable of *Kân-phā-ñau*. It also occurs in *Kân-phā-phük* in verse 44. *Ñau* means 'great, gigantic'; compare verse 54.

³ Here it is certain that it is the Shai-chung-mung that were halved.

⁴ This frequent employment of the word *pün*, 'island,' recalls the *dvīpas* of the Sanskrit cosmogony.

(60) All countries and hundreds of thousands of islands were created.

(61) All was finished, but no one became king (*chau*)¹ to sit in the highest heaven (*phā*).

(62) Lonely solitude filled (the place) of quiet man.

(63) The world was only filled with vapour, hoar-frost, and forest.

(64) After that (Phā-tüw-chüng) remained for a time and again for days (i.e. he passed a long period in this manner).

¹ See note to verse 13.

VOCABULARY.

- '**ā**, in 'ā-nan, that (see 'an), me-'ā, a father's sister.
- '**a**, to untie; a mother's father; wide, 'a-lāng, wide - power, God, 'a-'ik, faultless; 'a-pit, (pron. -pet), offence, crime, fault; 'a-nih, extreme misery, 'a-ki-'ān, the humble-bee, 'a-rang, virtue, a virtuous act, 'a-kā, a person of the Mishmi tribe; 'a-kā-mī-ti, a person of the Dafa tribe; tham-'a-mā, a plough.
- '**ai**, the eldest son of a family, shame (Sh. 1o), vapour (Sh. 1o) (63), to eructate (Sh. 1c, to cough) (cf. *uā*), an interjection, O! (always written *ha*), *bik-pi-ar*, an eldest son.
- '**ak**, happiness of mind.
- '**ak**, the brain (Sh. 1c or 2c), to come out (32, 33), appear, rise (of a heavenly body) (Sh. 2c); outside, one's own, 'au-'āk, took out (30), *ban-'āk*, day-appearing, the east (36), *pin-'āk*, ripe.
- '**am**, to charm (Sh. 1c), the third child of a family, full; 'am-po, to bargain, 'am-shū-tū, a crocodile.
- '**am**, to tie or fasten up; to fill up a hole; to bask a little in the sun (Sh. 2c, to warm oneself by the fire), to take on one's own shoulder.
- '**an**, a saddle, to count (Sh. 2o), and; before, in front, 'an-na, before, in front, *bā-'an*, and (5), *pon-'an*, and, 'an-nan or 'ā-nan, that (pronoun) (Sh. 'an-nan, 1c, 5c).
- '**an**, soft (cf. 'in), young, a diminutive termination, before (55), to come in front (Sh. 1c); first, 'a-ki-'ān, the humble-bee.
- '**ang**, a wash-bowl; wished or expected (Sh. 3o, to intend); ancestral property; any property, 'ang-kā, ability, power.
- '**ang**, to move anything, to shake; 'ang-mang, water in which rice has been boiled, congee.
- '**ap**, to wash the body (Sh. 2o).
- '**at**, to get a sudden strain on the waist.
- '**au**, 'aw, or 'āu, to take (Sh. 'aw, 1c), an uncle (father's brother) (Sh. 'aw, 1o), to liquify metals (Sh. 'aw, 2c); to catch fish while they advance in 'a shoal, 'au-dai, to fetch; 'au-ma, to bring; 'au-mī, to marry, 'au-chan, an uncle, the younger brother of a father; 'aw-'āk, took out (30).
- '**aw**, see 'an and 'au.
- '**e**, to sing; to feign.
- '**i**, the youngest of several (Sh. 2c, a young girl; ā, 2c, to be the youngest), one (cf. *lung*) (cf. Sh. 'it, 4m), 'i-'ā, this (pronoun).
- '**ik** (pronounced *ik*), a yoke (Sh. 2o), hope, reliance, 'a-'ik, faultless.
- '**in**, a snake (Sh. 1m), a crocodile.
- '**ing** or 'ing (pronounced *ing*), a large water-pot, a small earthen pot (Sh. 'ing, 2o, a glazed pot), to lean (Sh. 'ing, 1c), an earthquake; the body (13), 'ing-kan, to fall down when ripe (of fruit); rang-'ing, the waist.
- '**ip**, the side of a hill; a small covered bamboo basket (Sh. 2o, a cylindrical box, 'ip-hur, 4o, 1o, a small closed basket); to be furnished (Sh. 'up, 4c), properly 'up, q.v.
- '**it**, to strike with the finger, to produce a sound by striking against a hard thing, to rap.
- '**iw**, the seed of a kind of plant (the entada creeper) used by children as marbles in play (Sh. 2c, a small hole dug in the ground for placing these seeds erect for the game); to fill the belly.
- '**o**, a pipe, tube; ambrosia or nectar; a particle of interrogation (cf. Sh. *huw*, 1c), a particle added to *jau* (the particle of past time) to make the suffix, *jau-'o*, of the pluperfect; 'o-chā, nectar, ambrosia.

'oi, sugar-cane (Sh. 3c); to cause to eat, to feed (Sh. 2c); sweet; a particle signifying continuance

'ā, to remain (cf. *jū*), used as a particle indicating the present definite tense, to boil paddy; straight; to apply heat, *'ā-jau*, particle forming imperfect; *'ā-hoi*, particle forming continuous past, *'i-ā*, this (pronoun).

'āk (pronounced *uk*), the breast, the chest (Sh. *ul*, 4c) (cf. *'ung*), to catch fish while coming in a shoal, a frog (cf. Sh. *'una*, 2c), all, *'āk-chā*, all.

'āk, to lame, to cause to limp.

'ām (pronounced *am*), to offer a present, to take a mouthful (Sh. *am*, 5c, to hurry in eating).

'un, gladness (cf. *'uñ*), warm (Sh. 2c), to soften, soft (Sh. 3c) (cf. *'ān*), to mould, to be affected with menorrhagia (cf. *hūng*).

'an, other (Sh. 2c), in another place, to cut into slices.

'uñ (pronounced *ni*), fatigue, to eructate (cf. *'ai*), to sigh, happiness of mind (cf. *'un*), *'un (ni)-chau*, happiness of mind

'ung, the breast, the heart (cf. *'uk*).

'ung, a kind of plant (Assamese *deotārā*, cf. Sh. 3c, an orchid), to proceed crawling

'up, a betel-nut box (Sh. 4c, a box with a conical cover) (cf. *'up*).

'up, difficulty (cf. *up*), a small pot for keeping lime, a very small box, a betel-nut box (Sh. *'ip-pu*, 2c, 5c), an embankment across a rice-field, previous, before, to remain at hand

'ut, to get the body shampooed.

'uw, to praise

bā, why?, a fathom, four cubits (Sh. *wā*, 4c) (5c), to say (Sh. *wā*, 3c) (cf. *ba*) (23, 29), *bā-an*, and (5), *shang-bā*, it, *tu-bā*, but.

bā, a bundle of hair, mad, crazy, to become mad, to say, speak (Sh. *ua*, 3c) (cf. *bā*), a very poor man, one who lives by drudgery.

bai, a cane, rattan (Sh. *uai*, 1c), to be asked to lay by, put, place (Sh. *uai*, 5c), a place (7, 21), smooth, polished (56), *khup-bai*, to kneel down (35), *pak-bai*, to name (49), *khun-bai*, to help (55), *bidh-bai-hau*, a certain flower (Assamese, *bhūt-phāl*), *hup-bai*, to store, lay by, *bai-lang*, after, *chī-rāp-chāp-khāp-bai*, a finger-ring.

bak, to weave.

bāk, to mean, to speak, tell, explain.

bam, dusky.

ban, the sun, a day (Sh. *uan*, 4c) (8, 11, 64), a village (Sh. *wan*, 3c); a kind of paddy, sweet, agreeable (Sh. *uan*, 1c), to sow (Sh. *wan*, 2c), to beg (Sh. *wan*, 4c); to open, *ban-'āh*, the east (36), *ban-tuk*, sunset, *ban-khau*, to sow paddy, *bin-khau-khau*, to sow paddy broadcast (generally under water), *thw-ban*, a bud, *ban-cham*, of or belonging to a village (In 64, *ban*, day, is used to signify an indefinite long period of time.)

ban, the *lachu* (aunt) plant and its root (Sh. *man* or *uan*, 1c), to smell, flabby, pulpy, *ban-hoi*, to be fully ripe and full of juice

ban, see *ban*.

bang, a prostitute, hurel, a kind of rice that grows among autumn rice, thin (Sh. *wang*, 1c), the inside of a pipe to break (cf. Sh. *wang*, 2c, to be) to copulate (Sh. *wang*, 1c) to glitter, *na-bang-shi*, a kind of sharp-edged grass (Assamese, *mādurī ban*), *bang-shau*, a hurel.

bang or **bāng** the edge of an axe, a favourite friend, a dam across a river (cf. Sh. *wang*, 1c), a net for catching deer, a sprout, asthma, soot, sooty, to spread an umbrella, to be a king, intelligent, to attend upon anyone to pierce through (cf. Sh. *wang*, 2c, a hole or opening), a rope tied to the neck of an elephant, *bang-to*, laborious.

bap, a kind of fish to up, to rob, paddy ready to be husked, uneven.

bat, a kind of house found on the body of a dog (Sh. *mat*, 4c, a flea), one time, once, to become sore, to get rid of from illness, be convalescent, to praise.

bāt, imperfect, not well developed, blind (Sh. *mat* or *uat*, 2c).

bau (cf. *baw*), a youth, a young unmarried man (Sh. *uaw* or *maw*, 2c), company, companionship, to stand still

bau, a leaf (Sh. *mau*, 1c).

baw (cf. *bau*), a nuser, a handmill for grinding corn, to hold, no, not to be, not (Sh. *mau*, 2c) (cf. *bū*) (3, 6, 9, 17, 22 bis, 23, 24, 26, 36, 41, 51). All these words are often spelt *bau*.

- be**, to bleat; to rebuke, to reproach; to bark.
- bi**, a fan (Sh. *wī*, 4c); to comb the hair, a kind of comb (Sh. *wī*, 1c); a cowry (Sh. *we*, 3c); to fear.
- bin** (pronounced *bin*), to fly (Sh. *win*, 1c); aslant; to place aside, on one side (cf. Sh. *win*, 5m, to leave, *wit*, 4c, to be drawn aside).
- biñ** (pronounced *ben*), a bracelet, a bangle (Sh. *wiñ*, 10), the end of a nut to which the foot-stalk is attached, to cast into water and drag out again (as a net), to throw out.
- bing** (pronounced *bing*), a town, a city (Sh. *wing*, 4m), a small potsherd; to jump, to divide (Sh. *wing*, 20, to be divided), *bing-hāng*, a whitlow; *bing-tang-tut*, the mason wasp (*Sphix asiatica*), *bing-shī-lā*, bezoar, a calculeous concretion found in the intestines of certain ruminant animals.
- bip** (pronounced *bip*), to press (Sh. *wip*, 2c, to knead or press with the hands).
- bit** (pronounced *bit*), mind; a fish-hook (Sh. *wit*, 4m), adorned with figures of flowers (as a cloth), an ear of corn before it shoots out of the culm, a phial; to soak, to move one of the pieces in a game, to smooth a narrow piece of bamboo (Sh. *wit*, 5c, to smooth with a knife), *khan-bit-hung* (*heng*), barley.
- blak**, a flower (Sh. *māl*, 2c), *blāk-kham-shēn*, a marigold, *blāk-phang*, a certain flower (Assamese, *garīya-phāl*), *blāk-bai-hau*, a certain flower (Ass. *bhāt-phāl*); *blāk-kīp* (*kīp*)-*lam*, a mushroom (31), *nam-blāk-rung*, the water of the Ganges.
- bo**, an occurrence; a salt-mine (Sh. *mo*, a pit, a mine), a dooly or palanquin (Sh. *wo*, 4c), a sheet of water.
- boi**, to pray, to bow down (cf. Sh. *mām*, 4c), to serve.
- boiñ** or **bañ** (pronounced *boi*), to join the hands, to pray; to pay regard to a person.
- bū**, a lotus, a water-lily (Sh. *wuw* or *muw*, 1c), a bud, the seventh female child, blunt, dumb, fat, to paint the forehead with sandal; not (cf. *baw*); *bū-khruw*, not-yes, no (interjection).
- bum**, to remain dumb.
- bun**, noon; one's own man; a rattan-sprout (cf. Sh. *mun*, 4c, to sprout); poison; mad; to be perplexed, to be excited; to extend and arrange the warp previous to weaving (Sh. *wun*, 50); *bun-hai*, a certain creeping plant (Assamese, *gumā-māñ lātñ*).
- būn**, to fall, to be bent, distorted, a crooked word (*sic*).
- būñ** (pronounced *bui*), country liquor; the end of a waist-cloth being dragged along the ground.
- bug**, a narrow-necked basket for keeping fish, a basket, a silkworm (Sh. *wung*, 30, a worm); a hog's den (cf. Sh. *mung*, 5c, a place prepared by dogs or cats for their litter), outside; now, to remove night-soil; *shang-bug*, a blackboard (used as a slate for writing).
- bung**, a flying-pun, a kind of worm, a large basket, to go swiftly.
- bup** (pronounced *bup*), to beat (Sh. *wup*, 4c), to be agitated (as water); to be overcrowded.
- būt** (pronounced *but*), blind of one eye, to raise (Sh. *wut*, 30); to last, a disorder of the bowels, to trample upon.
- but**, the lines on the palm of the hand, a conical basket used by hill people.
- buw**, a wheel, disgust, to poison fish, muddy land.
- cha** or **chā**, rough (Sh. *chā*, 4c), thick, bad (Sh. *cha*, 5c), not come, unarrived, *nik-chā*, alas!, *shit-chā*, to promise, *ʼo-chā*, nectar, ambrosia, *ʼuk-chā*, all.
- chai**, a man, a male, a masculine suffix (Sh. 40); a male child; to come into use (Sh. 20, to use), to break, to cause to be broken.
- chak**, to cause to be recognised (Sh. 4c, to know well), to clean, polish, to make string from bamboo, to cut or trim the edge of a field embankment.
- chāk**, a corner (Sh. 5c, Assamese *chuk*), raw provisions supplied to a guest; to scoop, to take a handful out of a large quantity (cf. Sh. *chuk*, 40).
- cham**, a kind of net (Sh. 1c), the fringe of a cloth (Sh. 40), a bog, quagmire; to bog; and (sometimes written *chang*) (6, 21, 36, 37, 43 *dis*, 44, 49, 54, 55); also (37, 40); swift; *khan-na-cham*, as soon as; *ki-cham*, how many? (cf. *chan*); *ban-cham*, of or belonging to a village; *dai-cham*, etcetera (13); *nar-cham*, now, next, thereon (49) (cf. *chang-na*).

chām, to assemble, to accompany to take company vicinity (cf *Sh cham*, 1c, to be near) to load (as a gun) (Sh 2c, to put into) to sweep contiguous *chām-dō n̄* or *dōm-chām*, together with

chan, the verandah of a house with raised floor (Sh 4c a floor extended beyond the roof of a house) a liver esp a division of the universe (Sh 5) having several stories one above the other (of a house, etc) tearing horizontal road, excellent, nice *an-chan* mindfold (cf *cham*)

chān, one side of anything nice beautiful (cf *chan*) to dimple to smooth with an adze

chān (pronounced *chai*), a bore, an owl a child's penis to come to anyone's assistance

chang, an elephant (Sh 5c) (4c) an offering made to an officiating priest at the end of a ceremony *pu-chang* a scale (Sh 3c to weigh) a person blind of the right eye to be afflicted with sorrow to cause to be subjected to ordeal by magic and (cf *cham*) a verbal particle denoting present time (Sh 2c) a particle denoting the apodictic of a conditional sentence *chang-na* now, at present (37) (cf *nau-chan ching-tak*, then (30, 35) *ch-u-chang-mu*, because, therefore)

chāng, an umbrella (Sh 3c) (57) light, brilliancy a hurricane (Sh 5c, false han) a whip a wheel a high platform used for witching crops kind, manner *chang-me*, improper, not suitable *chāng-che*, religious rites

chap, to bend to perch on a branch (Sh 4c) to go and live at the home of another person an owl

chap, bimital sincere, honest pure to search *chi-rap-chāp-khāp-bai*, a finger-ring

chāt, to boil anything (as milk), to free from alkali to cut to pieces to spread (Sh 1c, to provide)

chau or chaw a master, owner (Sh *chaw*, 3c) (cf *chu*) a king (61) a *deva*, God (13) (cf *chu*), to boil rice, great, supernatural (25), to promise, to happen suddenly, 'au-*chau*, an uncle, the younger brother of a father

chau, the heart, mind (Sh. 1c), an ambassador, a messenger (Sh. 6c, to commission, send) to reflect, consider to say "yes", *chau-chau-du* to think in one's heart (27), *chau-chau*, the briest (30) *hut-chau* or *hut-mung-chau* to present a gift, *tau-chau*, to fast 'au (pa ui)-*chau*, happiness of mind

chaum in *che-chaum*, q v

chaw see *chan*

che a town (cf Sh 3c a province) all (Sh 1c to be complete) to wet, cold *che-chaum* all *che-ching*, ornaments *chang-che*, religious rites

cheng handsome

chī paper (Sh 1c 3c) to burn a piece of high land to show (Sh 4c, 5c) a jewel, a precious stone *chi-rap-chāp-lhap-bai*, a finger-ring

chik or chik (pronounced *chil*), a pig-tail (of the hair) (cf Sh *chik* 1c a top head) the metal ornament attached to the top of a *yapa* or wicker hat-umbrella the highest part of heaven (37)

chīn (pronounced *chui*), an incarnation (Sh *chin*, 3c, a Buddha) a cloth (Sh 1m felt) a long shawl, an insect like a dragon-fly

chiū (pronounced *cheu*), a flat piece of gold a kind of fly the other side

ching or ching (pronounced *ching*) a vial bond a curse affecting a whole kingdom to conquer to take by force *chi-ching*, ornaments *tu-ching*, a ring

chīp (pronounced *chep*), to pain (Sh *chip*, 4m), to seek to get lever

chit (pronounced *chut*), the seven *divyas* or worlds rage, anger (Sh 3m, to be angry) to feel affronted, to diminish to select (Sh 3c or 4c, to examine) the number 7 (Sh 4m)

chiw, swiftness, to go quickly (Sh 4m) a saddle to be disordered, to behave piously

cho, an earthen cooking-pot

choi, the male organ, a friend, assistance (Sh 3c, to help) a tax, paid to the king or to a spiritual guide, power (25)

chū or chu, a *yuga* (cf Sh *chu*, 3c, time) (41, 51), a god (cf *chau*), an owner (cf *chau*), a *yojana* or league (59), moral instruction (*niti*), dark (of light),

- favour, politeness, to believe (Sh. *chū*, 3c); to seek company (cf. Sh. *chū*, 4c, a company); to apply heat to paddy to dry it, to bend; to liquify gold; a man's name, a name (Sh. *chū*, 3c) (17), *chū-chang-na*, because, therefore, *ku-chū*, a quality (*guna*), *nā-chū*, an ant.
- chūk** or **chuk** (pronounced *chuk*), the top of a kind of grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*), to set on a dog, three, three times.
- chūk**, a turban, a *pāgarī*, a rope for tying cattle (Sh. 3c, a rope), to come near, approach.
- chum**, pleasure, love, to kiss (cf. *chup*), to corrode with lime, *chum-kān*, to love.
- chun**, to whitewash.
- chūn**, creation; the number 32, establishing; having branches, a cause, to ask, in any direction, very beautiful (Sh. 3c, to be clean, pure, bright).
- chūn** (pronounced *chū*), to understand, to feel a tingling sensation, to lean.
- chung**, a large box (cf. Sh. 4c, a kind of outer coffin), a kind of iguana (cf. Sh. *chung-cha*, 2c, 1c, the common house lizard), to remain holding, to hold and keep; pointed.
- chung**, a female attendant (Sh. 5c), a god (cf. Sh. 2c, to be unmoved, as a god in deep meditation) (48, 50), not to be late, not to delay, *chung-phā*, God (49), *phā-tun-chung*, God Almighty (27, 31, 38, 53), *shai-chung-mung*, thread-god-country, a thread of an, a *Vāyu* (48, 50).
- chūp** (pronounced *chup*), to kiss (cf. *chum*), to wet (Sh. 5c), to suck (Sh. 2c).
- chūt** (pronounced *chut*), a clod of earth; to lessen, a little, to clear with a hoe.
- chūw**, see *chū*.
- dā**, to strike.
- dā**, to bite as a serpent, a bundle of clothes, to take on the lap
- dai**, thread (? Sh. *lai*, 3c, silk), to get, possess (Sh. *lai*, 3c) (frequent in compound verbs) (12, 13, 29); to hear; *dai-cham*, get-and, etcetera (13); *shī-dai*, to be destroyed (21), *ai-dai*, to fetch, *han-dai*, to curse.
- dam**, black (Sh. *lam*, 1c); the spirit of a dead person (Sh. *lam*, 3c, the guardian spirit of a family); to dive into (Sh. *lam*, 1c).
- dan**, a club, a heavy stick; to go straight.
- dān**, high land, land not liable to inundation (Sh. *lān*, 1c, a mound) (cf. *dit*)
- dān** (pronounced *dan*), to shave (with a razor), to frighten with a sudden angry voice.
- dang**, a latch (Assamese, *dāng*), a long shield; the nose (Sh. *kā-lung*, 3c, 1c); to be affected with white spots on the skin (Sh. *lang*, 2c); spotted, to sound; *kā-dang*, to play at shield (a kind of game).
- dang**, the father of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law (Sh. *lāng*, 1c).
- dap**, to put out a fire (Sh. *lap*, 4c); a bamboo or wooden door-bar; to emit light (but Sh. *lap*, 4c, to be dark) (17).
- dat**, to make straight (Sh. *lat*, 4c).
- dau** or **daw**, a star (Sh. *law*, 1c).
- dau**, a *dēva*, a god (38).
- daw**, see *dau*.
- de**, to move the waist backward and forward, a kind of animal (Assamese, *nephyā*), to cleanse.
- dī**, good (Sh. *ī*, 1c) (1, 23), bile (Sh. *ī*, 1c), *lāk-ugin-dī*, to ride in a sedan chair; also, to speak.
- din** or **dīn** (pronounced *din*), land, the earth (Sh. *lū*, 1c, the earth, ground) (2, 55), a month (Sh. *lun*, 1c) (cf. *din*), a torch, *na-din*, a field; *nā-dān-kī*, a certain creeper (Assamese, *phāyā latā*); *pang-din*, a man of the Mui tribe
- dīn** (pronounced *din*), a boundary (Sh. *lū*, 1c); to do work.
- dīng**, see *dung*.
- dīp** (pronounced *dip*), to be alive (Sh. *lip*, 4c), *phi-dip*, a large boil.
- dit**, land not under water (cf. *dūn*), (pronounced *dit*) hot; (id.) pressure.
- diw**, having no companion (Sh. *luw*, 4c, single) (cf. *luw*).
- do**, an offshoot.
- doi**, a mountain or hill (Sh. *loi*, 1c), work, with (for *doiñ*) (63).
- doiñ** (pronounced *doi*), company (cf. Sh. *luñ*, 3c, with) (spelt *doi* in 63); the spur of a cock (Sh. *luñ*, 1c); *doiñ-chām* or *chām-doiñ*, together with. Cf. *lūñ*.
- dū**, to see, behold (Sh. *lū*, 1c); *han-dū*, to look carefully; *kāu-chau-dū*, to think within oneself (27).
- dūk** (pronounced *duk*), a bone (Sh. *luk*, 2c).

dūk, to give a slap; to teach to read.
dūm (pronounced *dum*), a scabbard.
 to smell.
dūn (pronounced *dun*), a crowd,
 foundation work.
dūn, the moon (cf. *dun*, Sh. *lun*, 10).
dūñ (pronounced *dun*), vapour.
dūng (pronounced *dung*), jungle (Sh.
lung, 10), a low field, leprosy.
dūng or **dīng**, red (cf. Sh. *lung*, 10, to
 be yellow, but *lung*, 10, to be red);
 bowed, bent (cf. Sh. *lung*, 2c, having
 one side higher than the other).
dūt (pronounced *dut*), to suck (Sh.
lut, 2c).
dūt, hot (cf. *lut*), the sun's light or ray.
hā, **hā**, the number 5 (Sh. *hā*, 3c),
 vapour, (written *ha*, but pronounced
ai), an interjection, oh!; *han-hā*,
 towards, *hā-ship*, fifty.
hai, a jar, a water-pot with a spout,
 cultivation (Sh. 3c, an upland field);
 light, shining; to mix together, to
 fall with the face upwards, to cry,
 weep (Sh. 3c), to shout, *iāng-hai*,
 to shout loudly, *bun-hai*, a certain
 creeping plant (Assamese, *guwā-*
mālī lutā).
hak, ripe, grey hair.
ham, conclusion, to beat, to be in
 excess, to become dusty or dirty.
ham, to smell (Sh. 1c, to be fragrant).
han, a goose (Sh. 20), a Kshatriya,
 to see (Sh. 1c) (19, 46), *han-dai*,
 to curse.
hān, to make, to prepare (cf. Sh. *hūn*,
 40), the comb of a cock (Sh. 1c).
hang, a raised bamboo platform, not
 dense, having interstices (Sh. *hang*,
 20, to be wide apart), to feel hatred.
hang, a room, *bing hang*, a whitlow.
hap, to shut up (Sh. 1c); immature
 corn.
hat, a large stone pot, to dry up (of
 water) (Sh. *hit*, 50).
hah, swelling of the mouth, sunned
 rice, to come to work; to give,
 offer (Northern Shan, 3c); to
 cause, allow, to bark as a dog,
 bitter, (adjectival demonstrative)
 that, *han-dai*, to give out and out;
han-kin-hin (*hin*), to cause to eat
 and drink; to pasture cattle; *han-*
khu-pan-ju, to allow enter uphold
 remain, to allow to remain (38);
blāh-bur-han, a certain flower
 (Assamese, *bhāt-phū*).
he, not tame, said of an animal (Sh.
 10).

hi, the female organ (Sh. 1c); to be
 a little aslant, *hi-hāk*, to throw
 down by force, to break by throwing
 down violently.
hik, in *ña-huk-kor*, a certain
 medicinal herb (Assamese, *tāijābari*).
hin, a certain animal of the squirrel
 kind.
hiñ (pronounced *hiñ*), a water-fowl;
 to look upwards (Sh. 10).
hing (pronounced *hing* or *heng*), a kind
 of water-fowl, dry, to dry (Sh. *hing*,
 30), a small tinkling bell attached
 to something (Sh. *hing*, 2c), a wild
 cat (Sh. *hin*, 1m), *khan-bit-hing*,
 barley, *shan-hing*, to use, make
 use of.
hip (pronounced *hip*), hoarseness of
 voice (Sh. *hip*, 20).
hit (pronounced *hit*), front, to look
 with pity, to be. (pronounced *het*),
 to do (Sh. *hit*, often written *hich*,
 4m) (in Ahom often written *kam*, q.
 cf.), *hit-chau* or *hit-mung-chau*, to
 present a gift, *hit-shau*, a re-
 proach, *hit-mun-hit-khūn*, to
 rejoice, *ña-haw-ka-hit*, a kind of
 creeping plant used for medicinal
 purposes (Assamese, *bhedā latā*).
ho, a large building, a palace (Sh. 1c),
 a dwelling, to chase (Sh. 3c).
hoi, a shell (Sh. 1c), *hūn-hoi*, to be
 fully ripe and full of juice.
hoiñ (pronounced *hoi*), to suspend
 (Sh. *hoi*, 3c).
hū, an animal of the bovine species
 (*hū-mu*, a cow) (Sh. *uuv*, 4c, or
nguv, 4c), to bristle, to have the
 hair erect, to throw the body
 forward with the arms extended, as
 in swimming.
huk, the gum, the gums (Sh. 20).
hūm (pronounced *ham*), a slap; *phq-*
hūm, a certain plant (Assamese,
barun-gachh).
hun, an idol; wrinkled (Sh. 3c).
hūñ (pronounced *hū*), to ask again to
 take, to press a thing upon one;
 a seed; high, to sigh, to see
 uncovered.
hung, **hūng** (pronounced *hung*), fame
 (Sh. *hung*, 10, to be celebrated)
 (26), relationship, to pass through
 anything, a noise, sound (cf. Sh.
hung, 1m).
hūng, to be affected with menorrhagia
 (cf. *'un*), to be thin, not fat.
hūp (pronounced *hup*), a piece; to hold
 by grasping, to gather together, to
 collect (Sh. 3c); *hup-bai*, to store.

- hūp**, to hold within the arms; to fall down with the face upwards.
- hūt** (pronounced *hut*), to go away; to compare with, to be pure, to select out.
- hūt**, to utter short angry words quickly and loudly, to intimidate (Sh. 4c), to extort; to beat severely.
- jā**, to quit, be free (Sh. *yā*, 2c, to have done with); to prevent, prohibit, *ñung-jā*, a wicked woman.
- ja**, a grandmother (Sh. *yā*, 3c), to decompose, become rotten
- jā**, to peep.
- jai**, see *jan*.
- jak**, difficulty, trouble, misery, sorrow (Sh. *yak*, 3c, to prepare for cooking, to wash vegetables for cooking).
- jāk**, a good man, a gentleman, to frighten, to be defeated in a fight, to be fit, worthy.
- jam**, a husband's elder brother; bell-metal, a bell, a moment (Sh. *yam*, 4c, time), respect (Sh. *yam*, 1c), one born after two, a third child, wet (Sh. *yam*, 4c), to reflect (Sh. *yam*, 4c, to shame), to be mouldy round-faced.
- jam**, gain, profit, to establish, to hate, to yoke
- jan**, an enemy, shallow, the straight portion of a river, standing in a connected row (cf. Sh. *yang*, 3c, a row of things), to glitter, to stretch out the legs, to suspend (cf. Sh. *yan*, 2c, to be placed in a perpendicular position, the initial point of action being from above), to stride (cf. *jang* Cf. Sh. *yang*, 3c).
- jan**, to ask, beg (Sh. *yān*, 4c); to endure; to make the body dance (cf. Sh. *yān*, 3c, to tremble), *yān-shū*, to ask, *nān-jān*, nursing a child, or a sick person.
- jan** or **jai** (pronounced *jan*), one born after three others, a fourth-born child.
- jang**, a bunch of plantains or the like, anything white; to stride, walk on tiptoe (Sh. *yang*, 3c, to step; cf. *jan*, *jing*), to pile, pressure put on the ground with the toes in order to prevent slipping, to sparkle, glitter (34, 52); heat applied to paddy to dry it for husking (Sh. *yang*, 3c, to dry on a frame), to be (Sh. *yang*, 4c) (cf. *ñang*); to kneel down.
- jāng**, fame, glory (Sh. *yāng*, 3c, to praise); clotted, coagulated into many clots.
- jap**, to strike against anything with the foot in walking (cf. *jat*).
- jāp**, to cause to be raised.
- jat**, to glitter, to dazzle, to plaster, to be divided into many lumps; to strike with the foot against something (cf. *jap*).
- jat**, the coarse fibrous part of a silk cocoon, to yield slightly to the pressure of the foot.
- jau** or **jan**, the handrail of a narrow bridge; to strike with something blunt, long (Sh. *yau*, 4c); completed, particle denoting the past tense of a verb (Sh. *yau*, 5c) (7, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26, 28, 29, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60), to be lost in thought; simple, foolish, a fibre, filament, the same as *ñau*, great, gigantic (10); very (Sh. *yau*, 3c, an assertive particle); distant, far, *jan-kau*, a spider's thread.
- jauw**, see *ñau*
- ji**, a granary (Sh. *ye*, 1c), the eldest daughter of a family, aslant, oblique; *jī-mau* (for *jim-mau*), in the beginning (see *jim*)
- jik** (pronounced *ik*), a tag; damp.
- jim** (pronounced *im*), olden times, *jim-mau* (or *jī-*), in olden times, in the beginning, *biēshith* (1) (cf. *ji*).
- jin** (pronounced *in*) (cf. *jan*), cold, trouble, a thorn, to be quiet, still (62).
- jing** (pronounced *ing*), a dragon-fly, to walk on tiptoe (Sh. *ying*, 2c; cf. *yang*)
- jip** (pronounced *ip*), to walk in step.
- jīt** (pronounced *it*), to clean the edge of a field, one born after five others, a sixth child
- jiw**, to think, a thought (Sh. *yau*, 1m), doubt.
- jo**, to praise (Sh. *yo*, 4c); *shaüm-jo*, not to think, to be without anxiety.
- joiā** (pronounced *jo*), the flow of water.
- jū**, to remain, to stay, to live (Sh. *yū*, 2c) (cf. *yū*) (3, 4, 10, 13, 14, 15, 23, 24, 25, 28, 37, 38, 40 *bis*, 42, 43, 64 *bis*), *tau-jā*, to converse, speak mutually; to bless.
- jūk** (pronounced *uk*), a plantain-tree sprout dressed for food, an ugly person; to put a thing outside the house to get it bedewed.

- jūn** (pronounced *jūn*), to run, to proceed running (cf. *jūn*).
jūn, for ever (often written *jūn*) (Sh. *yūn*, 4c, to be long); to stretch out the hand (Sh. *yūn*, 3c, 4c); to become cold (cf. *jūn*); solitary (55); to run (cf. *jūn*); a pattern (cf. *jūng*), *jūn-pūn*, to become a pattern, to be created (39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 54).
jūng (pronounced *jūna*), a peacock, to eject from the mouth, roar of water.
jūng, a model, sample, ideal (cf. *jūn*), to start, feel a sudden uneasy sensation, a brown-eyed woman.
jūt (pronounced *jūt*), to be dented, to stand still.
jūt, to spin thread, to be severed from a row, to cause to fall off.
kā (cf. *ka*), things given to the parents of a girl when wooing, (or *ka*) sufficient, as much as (Sh. *kā*, 3c), (or *ka*) all (Sh. *kā*, 3c), seedlings (Sh. *ka*, 3c), to measure, trade (Sh. *ka*, 5c, *kā*, 3c, price), to go (Sh. *kā*, 2c), *pai-kā*, to go; *tang-kā*, all, *kā-dang*, to play at shield (a kind of game), *kā* (or *ka*)-*tau*, below, 'a-kā, a person of the Mishmi tribe, 'a-kā-mī-tī, a person of the Daifa tribe.
ka (often written *kā*), a crow (Sh. *ka*, 1c), a forehead ornament, pain, a tether block, or piece of wood tied to the neck of an animal, to dance (Sh. *kā*, 3c), finished, a suffix of the past tense, *prep.* at, *ka-na*, at this, now, *kā-tang*, behind, after, *tang-ka*, all (7, 20, 61), *tā-ka*, name of a serpent (12), *kūng-ka*, a peacock, *mai-lung-ka*, a kind of tree (Assamese, *bhātāghilā*); *nā-kaw-ka-hut*, a certain creeping plant used as a medicine (Assamese, *bhedāi-latā*), *ka-shang*, what?, *ka-tau*, below, 'ang-ka, ability, power.
kai, a fowl (Sh. 2c), to lay a bridge, plaster, to feel an itching sensation (Sh. 4c), to surround, to come across, stand in the way of, *pī-kai*, an elder brother, *kai-kai*, all round a person or thing (32).
kak, a stick used in stirring anything while cooking (Sh. 2c), a stirrup, a kind of size made from paddy boiled in water and applied to the warp in weaving, watery, to spin a muga cocoon, *khau-kak*, rice not properly husked.
kak, a horn; a water-pot; a crab; lac; to set fire to.
kam, a small bundle; harm; a basket holding five seers of grain; the roed used for making pens (Sh. 1c); to prevent, to hinder; to prop, to lean on (Sh. 5c), to be, be made (Sh. 1c) (61) (cf. *hut*).
kām, to bend; to control; lump-backed, to bow (Sh. 4c).
kan, sulphur (Sh. 5c); fasting; an expert woman, a stem (Sh. 3c); a pole for carrying a burden; a great man; to be bent, folded; to tuff, to be joined, to slip, even, level; a place, mutuality, to begin; *kan-ka* or *kan-pā*, towards; *pa-kan*, to copulate, *rang-kan*, to consult; *chun-kan*, to love, *nā-kan-man*, as usual, *me-kan*, to feel affection, *nūt-kan*, to coincide, *pēm-kan*, means of livelihood, *ping-kan*, love, affection, *rah-kan*, to love, favour; 'ung-kan, to fall down when ripe (of fruit).
kān, a rafter, a germ, cream; a pipe, tube (Sh. *kang*, 3c), a load taken on one shoulder (Sh. 1c), nice; good (49), the front; to get warm; to receive homage, to do, a hard mass, a block (44), *kān-pha-nān*, the name of the *Vāṇas*, or air-gods (49), 'a-ka-ang-ah, the good God (49); *kan-pha-pha*, a mass of white rock, Mount Mēru (44).
kañ (pronounced *kāy*), to go idly, to go slowly.
kang, a cross-bow (Sh. 2c) to hide; to feel hated.
kāng, poison (Sh. 5c), over-sunned rice, to prune, to bring into subjection.
kap, a scale, a round flat body (cf. Sh. 2c, the husk of maize), to join (Sh. 4c), to bite (Sh. 3c), *kap-lup* (bite take-by-force), to quarrel, contend (6).
kāp, a fortnight; simple.
kat, a market (Sh. 2c), hard, difficult (Sh. 3c); to cut to pieces; to get dust into boiled rice, *kat-kum*, a shopkeeper.
kāt, to abandon; to embrace (Sh. 2c); to go away by force.
kau, a spider (Sh. *kung-kaw*, 2c, 1c) (54, 58); nine (the numeral) (Sh. *kaw*, 3c); to remember; the weight of the body; to swell; I (the

- pronoun) (Sh. *kaw*, 1c) (also spelt *kaw*, nom. *kaw-ko*) (23, 24, 25); former, previous; *kau-kham-ko*, a golden spider (nom. case) (58).
- kaum**, to become too salt, the cheek (Sh. *kim*, 30).
- kauw**, the calf of the leg (Sh. *kaw*, 30); injury; dew, near.
- kaw**, an owl (Sh. 5c); old (Sh. 2c), other; not thoroughly ripe, to mix together (Sh. 1c), the same as *kau*, q.v. (23, 25), *khau-kaw*, crushed or split chaff, *ña-kaw-ka-hit*, a certain creeping plant used for medicinal purposes (Assamese, *bhūdā latā*).
- kaw**, to establish, to lay a foundation, to think; to plan.
- ke**, the Assamese title of 'Barua', old (cf. *kau*), to open, untie (Sh. 30), crooked, *ke-chā*, a quality (*guna*).
- khā** or **kha**, a domestic, a slave (Sh. *khā*, 3c); thatching grass (Sh. *khā*, 4c), the thigh (Sh. *kha*, 1c), the hand, to cut, to ask (for something); to search, a stool, to censure or censure, to frighten, *khā-hik*, a male servant, *khā-nung*, a female servant; *hik-khā*, a boy, *khā-phan*, to cut, *lah-khā-nā*, a chaste woman.
- kha**, see *khā*, *kha-lang*, a man of the Barāh caste.
- khai**, in *khak-khai*, in every division, everywhere.
- khak**, lonely, solitary (44, 62), stillness, the lines on the palm of the hand, the son of a black man, to check with the tongue, to clear the throat (Sh. 20), *khak-khai*, in every division, everywhere, *khak-khan*, quiet and at peace, still (7).
- khak**, an enclosure for animals (Sh. 3c); a chrysalis, cocoon (Sh. 2c), a cowhouse.
- kham**, gold (Sh. 4c) (51, 58), cloth, a word, news (Northern Sh. 10) (cf. *khau*, *khām*) (30), evening, to become evening (Sh. 3c); a granary, to lessen; to burst, to sting, *lat-kham*, to say, *lat-kham-tau*, to say, speak, *phan-kham*, an order, *sho-kham*, a complaint, *khām-ma-tau*, a word, *kham-kū-lā*, a servant, a pious man (also applied to a guest), *kham-man*, see *khām*; *kham-phuk*, to learn to speak; *khām-tai*, a kite (the bird); a slave; *khun-thw-kham*, name of a god; *luw-kham*, a kind of plant (Assamese, *baṅgā jugyari*); *mou-*
- kham*, a kind of bracelet worn by men; *phuv-kham*, a gold bracelet; *tham-kham-rō*, to enquire; *būtk-kham-shān*, a marigold.
- khām**, cropped; to become upside down (Sh. 3c); to ask; a word, a subject of talk or thought (cf. *khām*) (28, 34); *khām-man* (or *khām*), the turning out correctly of something said, the fulfilment of a prophecy.
- khan**, an axe, acute pain; a sickle; a weaver's shuttle, two boats lashed together; rust, a fish spear; to sprinkle holy water; to trade (Sh. 1c, price), to neglect, to speak (Sh. 10) (cf. *khām*); a word (16, 39), to go quickly (Sh. 1c) (44, 58); *khan-ma-cham*, as soon as, *khak-khām*, quiet, still (7), *khām-to*, alone, solitary (14, 27), *par-khan*, to run.
- khān**, life (50), mind, a hammer, a club (Sh. 5c), a bridle, muddy, turbid (of liquid), slightly putrid.
- khāng**, happiness, a dam, a loom; a basket, a top (the toy), a stick thrown from the hand, the trunk of the body, even, level, to say pleasantly, to throw something; to erect, horizontal, *khāng-nā*, before, in presence of.
- khap**, anything round and flat (Sh. *khap*, 40), a shell, a wheel.
- khāp**, a mortar, a small box, to shut up, a weaver's peg, a circle, ring, *chī-rāp-chāp-khāp-lau*, a finger-ring.
- khāt**, to tear, to break asunder, to divide (Sh. 1c, 20); to be defeated, to go.
- khāt**, to tie, to bind (Sh. 2c, to tie a knot), to tighten, to select; to fall down from above, a teacher.
- khau** (often written *khau*), paddy (Sh. *khau*, 3c); boiled rice (Sh. *khau*, 3c); a horn, the heddle of a loom (Sh. 1c), a kind of open cloth basket, an earring, a boil, they, they all (Sh. 1c) (13, 34); yawning; white (Sh. *khau*, 10); nice; to put into, to enter (Sh. *khau*, 3c, to enter) (13, 38) (cf. *shan*), in, within (27), to shake (Sh. *khau*, 2c); to nurse; *khau-chāi-dā*, to think in one's heart (27), *khau-mun*, rice-frumenty; *khau-mung*, boiled *barā* rice (it becomes soft when put in water); *khau-būt-hung* (pr. *heng*), barley;

- khaui-ko**, to grant a boon; **khaui-tün** (pr. *tün*), fine husked unbroken rice; **khaui-kak**, rice not properly husked; **khaui-pin** (pr. *pin*), broken rice; **khaui-kaw**, crushed or split chaff; **ban-khaui**, to sow paddy; **ban-khaui-khrat**, to sow paddy broadcast.
- khaü**, wish, desire (Sh. 3c), good; to get over-sunned.
- khaw**, to prepare a raft, to jump away; to consult.
- khe**, a casting-net (Sh. 1o), asthma, a river, to remove the effect of the evil eye (Sh. 1o, to deliver from a present evil), to enclose with a hedge.
- khi**, dung, ordure (Sh. 3c) (55), a peacock, distress, difficulty (Sh. 1c), to get up, rise.
- khik** or **khik** (pronounced *khek* or *khek*), a guest, worship the river Jhānghi; to worship a god (*dēva*), a spirit.
- khiin** or **khiin** (pronounced *khin*), distress, any injurious accident (Sh. *khin*, 1m, to be unlucky), a fence raised across a stream to catch fish, to strip off the rind of anything, to smooth a post, to clean the feathers (of a bird), to be ended, to suffer from looseness of bowels, ripe but hard, not even, uneven.
- khiin** (pronounced *khen*), the spots in the moon, to be a friend, to save, to hang, to remain, cf. *khui*.
- khing**, guger (Sh. 1c), a chopping-block on which *bhang* is minced (Sh. 1m), large, fat.
- khup** (pronounced *khup*), a shoe: high land, tongs.
- khut** (pronounced *khut*), a toad, frog (Sh. *khut*, 2m), to pull upwards (Sh. *khut*, 4c, to raise one end upwards), to be watery, to throw with a stick.
- khuiw**, in *khuiw-khuiw*, very bright (33). Possibly the word should be *khuiw*.
- kho**, the neck (Sh. *kho*, 4c) (23), a hoe; a pole with a hook to pull something (Sh. *kho*, 1c), a tie, a knot, a chapter, division of a book; to shine, glitter (15); with, in company with; *kho-kho*, with fear (35), *shan-kho*, to remain with a person (53), *ming-kho*, to tease, down-stream, the country lower down a river.
- khrai**, a buffalo, an egg (Sh. *khai*, 2c); dirt (Sh. *khai*, 4c); a cocoon, living alone, solitude (62), sick, ill (Sh. *khai*, 3c, to ache); to count (cf. Sh. *khai*, 3c, to narrate); to write, to join; not to leave; to roar; *khrai-khrat*, see *khrai*; *ban-khaui-khrat*, to sow paddy broadcast.
- khraing**, articles, property, especially large articles (Sh. *khraing*, 1c) (60); anything thrown away; cropped; to be in disorder, the breadth of a cloth, a kind of water-grass called *dal*, *khraing-lung*, goods and chattels, *khraing-khrat*, a crocodile (cf. *khroin*).
- khriing**, a canopy, the body (Sh. *khriing*, 4c) (41).
- khriw**, a stack of wood, a tooth (Sh. *khriw*, 3m); sneezing (cf. Sh. *khriw-cham*, 3c, 1o); a kind of snare for birds (cf. *khriw*), a plank, full of dirt (cf. Sh. *khriw*, 2c), dark in colour, deep black (Sh. *khriw*, 1m), having the smell of raw fish or flesh (Sh. *khriw*, 4o), yes, *khriw-khrat*, no, *khriw-khrat*, to sing songs in exchange, to sing against one another, *khriw-khrat*, a certain rice (Assamese, *lātarun qachh*).
- khro**, to laugh (Sh. *khro*, 1c).
- khroi**, the male organ, dead (Sh. *khroi*, 3c, to die), zigzag; the narrow caves of a house, a mistake made in weaving, *khroi-khrat*, to sit with one leg over the other in the Ahom fashion.
- khroiin** (pronounced *khroiing*), a shark; a crocodile (cf. *khrai-khrat*).
- khru** or **khru**, a bridge, a wooden stand on which manuscripts are placed; to try, to smile.
- khruin** (pronounced *khruin*), a pond, bitter (Sh. *khruin*, 1o), to fall upside down, to itch (Sh. *khruin*, 4o); to rub, a ladder (Sh. *khruin*, 1c).
- khruing**, to divide or distribute equally, frost, the highest part of anything (5, 21, 29, 61); *phai-khruing-klang*, a halt, *khruing-khrat*, a castor-oil plant.
- khruing**, a room.
- khruw** or **khruw**, a beam (Sh. *khruw*, 2c), a bunch, a cluster (Sh. *khruw*, 3c); a creeper (Sh. *khruw*, 4o), the sharp edge of a *dao* (Sh. *khruw*, 4o); leafless branches; a kind of snare for birds (cf. *khruw*), great (Sh. *khruw*, 5c), size, length (41); wet; to happen, to roll along.
- khru-kruw**, to remain continually in doubt.

khā, see *khvā*.

khūk (pronounced *khuk*), dirt (cf. *khru*, and Sh. *khō*, 2c) ; a tadpole ; a room with planked walls.

khūk, a kind of bamboo scoop used in catching fish.

khum, bitter (Sh. 1c) (cf. *khām*).

khūn (pronounced *khun*), a king (Sh. *khun*, 1c), covetousness ; a priest, a kind of water worm ; hair on the body, down (Sh. *khun*, 1c), a high platform used for watching elephants, to reconcile ; to snore (Sh. *khun*, 1c) ; *khun-thu-khum*, the name of a god (30) ; *nam-khum*, the river *Dulāh*, in the district of Sibsagar.

khūn, night (Sh. 4c) (8, 11), to get up (Sh. 3c, to ascend), to return, go back (Sh. 1c), *hit-mun-hit-khūn*, rejoicing.

khūn (pronounced *khun*), a son-in-law (Sh. *luk-khūn*, 3c, 3c) ; to sigh, to thrust or impel by the neck, *po-khūn*, the husband of a father's sister.

khuā or **khīn** (pronounced *khun*), to be better, very, much (Sh. *khūn*, 4c), *khūn-bar*, to help (35).

khung (pronounced *khung*), a leafless branch, the castor-oil tree.

khūp or **khup** (pronounced *khup*), a fortnight (cf. Sh. *khup*, 2c, any cycle of time), to kneel down (Sh. *khup*, 5c), to have a painful biting sensation in the joints (Sh. *khup*, 4c, to bite, to have an ache), to be finished, to taste salt, *khup-bar*, to kneel down (35).

khūp, a span (Sh. 3c), to kindle fire by applying cotton or the like, a shoe (Sh. *khup-tu*, to, 1c, sandals).

khūt (pronounced *khut*), to divide boiled rice (Sh. *khut*, 5c), to scatter boiled rice, division, to tear (Sh. *khut*, 2c, to tear the skin).

khūt, to chase, to overtake (Sh. 4c), to be scratched (cf. *khūt*, Sh. *khut*, 2c, to scratch).

khūw, in *ma-lung-khūw*, a kind of prickly shrub (Assamese, *pulikāhat*).

ki (often written *kī*), how much? how many? *ki-chan*, how many? *ki-shai*, how far? *'a-ki-ān*, the humble-bee.

ki, a bud, the calyx of a flower (Sh. 3c, to blossom), discontent, a loom (Sh. 2c) ; to swell ; to make a bundle ; but, *ki-lang*, nearness, near ; *ā-din-ki* a certain creeping-plant (Assamese, *phājā latā*). Cf. *ki*.

kik (pronounced *kik*), a young hog, to chase with a stick.

kim, to rule, to enjoy the fruits of (a kingdom) (Sh. 4c, to take hold of, hold), *kat-kim*, a shopkeeper.

kin, to eat (Sh. 1c), to enjoy, *kūn-nā-kim*, a cultivator, *ma-lau-kim*, ever, at any time ; *kun-shū*, a keeper, one who keeps.

kiñ (pronounced *ken*), of good breed, good-looking ; earrings ; an arrow, how many? ; a kind of water-grass ; to cut on all sides, the stacking of boiled rice in the throat (Sh. 5c, to choke in the throat), an intensive particle, very (Sh. 2c).

king, a protuberance caused by outgrowth of a branch, an 'eye' of a tree, to feign (Sh. 3c) ; a cup, to swell, as rice when boiled, to nestle. See *kung*.

kīp (pronounced *kīp*), husk, chaff (Sh. 2c), a parcel of fish, a long, narrow piece of split bamboo, to perforate ; to pick-up (Sh. 4m), a plot of a field, *nā-kīp*, a field, *blāk-kīp-lam*, a mushroom, a fungus (31).

kīt, to hush paddy with the teeth (Sh. *kūt*, 4c, to bite), to scream out loudly, to be caught by a twig.

kiw, a bamboo lath, a small conical flower basket, a hint, a misfortune, sin, a long stick with a hook, a needle, to taste, an uneasy sensation felt in the windpipe ; wearing out the sharp edge of a knife, to wind thread (Sh. 1c, the strand of a rope), to prevent from advancing, swift, to go quickly.

kiai, near, not far, nearly, almost (Laos, *kai*, 3c, to be near).

klang, middle (Sh. *kang*, 1c) (15), a piece of wood tied to the neck of an animal, *phā-khung-klang*, a half.

kāng, a gun (Sh. *kāng*, 3c) ; a drum (Sh. *kāng*, 1c), carousing ; to hush paddy ; *kāng-to*, only, nothing but (4, 63).

klem, to possess (Sh. *lim*, 4c, to take hold of).

klin (pronounced *klin*), to drink (Sh. *kin*, 1c). Properly *klin*, q.v.

kling (pronounced *kling*), the screw-pine flower ; a two-pronged contrivance used for raising or supporting anything (Sh. *kina*, 4m) ; to be flung off, *kling-chū*, to assume or bear a name (17), *kling-ka*, a pea-

- cock; *shī-klung* (pronounced *-klung*), half.
- klol**, to go slowly (Sh. *loi*, 3c).
- klū**, salt (Sh. *kuw*, 10); to cast an oblique look.
- klūm**, brightness.
- klūn**, tax payable to a king; to drink (cf. *klun*), to swallow, to bend; to rub; *pon-klun*, a leper.
- klwāng** (pronounced *klāng*), in *mak-klwāng*, the *papaya* fruit.
- ko**, suffix of the nominative case (14, 16, 18, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 36, 38, 58), and, also, even, a friend (Sh. 5c), to create (29, 55, 56); *ran-ko*, layer-establish, a foundation (1), *khu-ko*, to grant a boon, *tau-ko*, a man fit to be dead and gone in his youth (a term of abuse).
- kol**, to stay, to wait (Sh. 3c), only (Sh. 4c), to be finished, suffix of the past or perfect tense (Sh. *ko*, 1c, to be finished) (4, 6, 10, 15, 24, 40, 51); used to form a sort of precative in *rau jū* . . . *loi*, we may remain, let us remain (37), *ko-jau*, sign of past tense (15, 17, 22, 28, 42, 47), *ña-hā-ko*, a certain medicinal herb (Assamese, *lā-jābari*).
- ku**, a worm, a long-necked earthen pot
- kū**, a torch, a bedstead (Sh. 2c), a forehead ornament, crooked, each, every; to fear (Sh. *kue*, 1c) (cf. *kuw*), *kū-mue*, each time, *pau-kū* (rel. pron.), who, which, *kū-kho*, with fear (35), *kham-kū-lā*, a servant, a pious man (also applied to a guest).
- kūk** (pronounced *luk*), a name (Sh. *luk*, 3c), an Ahom, a piece of stone on which anything is ground; to feed chickens, attempts of towl to fight, to mould, the act of showing excessive loudness.
- kūk**, to sob, to finish quickly; to take a sip of water.
- kūm** (pronounced *kum*), to discuss in a meeting, to assemble and consult (Sh. 1c), to gather, collect; to lower, droop downwards (Sh. 30, to stoop) (27).
- kun**, fighting, light, sheen, to make over oneself to another.
- kūn** (pronounced *kun*), a man (Sh. *kun*, 40) (22, 62), to swell; to be uprooted (Sh. 20); to return, come back; *kūn-mī*, a woman; *kūn-nā-kin*, a cultivator; *kūn-rak-tai*, a friend; *kūn-plāng*, one who binds himself to serve another in payment of a debt; *kūn-mā*, a fool, ignorant.
- kūñ** (pronounced *kui*), a plantain (Sh. 30), to turn up dirt, to reveal secret misconduct.
- kung**, a hole in a tree (Sh. 10); a snake; canker of a tree; to praise.
- kūng** (pronounced *kung*), a spinning wheel (Sh. *kung*, 10), a bow (Sh. *kung*, 10) (52), a shrimp (Sh. *kung*, 3c).
- kūng**, to suffice, sufficiency (Sh. 2c); to measure, be of a certain length (written *kung*) (41).
- kūp** (pronounced *kup*), a wicker hat serving as an umbrella (Sh. 4c); pierced through; to fold, a layer.
- kup**, to take by force; *kup-kup* (bite take-by-force), to quarrel, contend (6).
- kūt** (pronounced *kut*), hypocritical (Sh. *kut*, 50), crooked; to slip from the hand, to seize and keep.
- kut**, to pounce down upon, to remain sticking to something when dragged away.
- kūw**, lat. to stare, to tear, cf. *kā* and *khu-kor*.
- kwāng** (pronounced *kāng*), a kind of basket, bending; measure, breadth, size (41, 51).
- kwēw** (pronounced *kā*), a term of friendship (used to a Nāgā), to prune.
- lā** or **la**, the rising of a heavenly body, open, unenclosed, to happen, occur, to fasten with lac, naked, *lā-lung*, a monkey (Sh. *lung*, 1c) (see *lung*); *lā-shung*, true, *lā-kā*, name of a serpent (42), *nam-lā-lā*, the ocean (4); *kham-kū-lā*, a servant, a pious man (also applied to a guest); *am-shū-lā*, a crocodile; *nam-shū-lā*, a shark; *bung-shī-lā*, a bezoar, a calculous concretion found in the intestines of certain ruminant animals.
- lai**, a letter, paper, a book (Sh. 40); all (60), saliva; fat, stout; again, to come; to mingle (Sh. *lo*, 4c); to chase, variegated (Sh. 40); *tang-lai*, all, *lai-chan*, manifold.
- lak**, a thief, to steal (Sh. 5c) (25); an ill omen, a peg, uncommon, rare (Sh. 20) (10 bis); a dwarf; to drag along the ground (Sh. 30); to shine (15, 23); *to-lak*, nevertheless; *lak-khā-nā*, a chaste woman; *lak-thak*, prior, before.

- lak**, an udder; the heart; to skin, strip off the peel or rind (Sh. 3c); to frighten (Sh. 2c); to transform; *lāk-pin*, transform-become, to make (58).
- lam**, to strain off (a liquid), to charm, fascinate; the branch of a tree, to boil in a bamboo vessel; to creep; *blāk-kip-lan*, a mushroom, a fungus (31).
- lan**, morality (*nīti*), a grandson (cf. *lang*) (Sh. *lan*, 1c, a grandchild); having no foliage or branches, pruned (Sh. *lan*, 4c, to lop). of former times, to fly, to return, to digest.
- lān**, ugly; at a word, on the word; to mix puddle, to unfasten, loosen.
- lān** or **loiñ** (pronounced *loi*), to swim (Sh. *luñ*, 4c), to join company with (cf. *doiñ*).
- lang**, the back (Sh. 1c), the space under a raised platform (Sh. 3c, the space beneath a house), a grandson (cf. *lan*), to lag behind, to clean utensils (Sh. 5c, to rinse); the jack-fruit tree, *kā-lang*, behind, after (see *ka*), *ba-lang*, after, *khu-lang*, a man of the Barāhi caste, *lang-man*, after you, *por-lin-lang*, and, there-upon, *hi-lang*, nearness, near, *mq-lang-khuw*, a kind of prickly shrub (Assamese, *putikāhat*), *tau-lang*, glass.
- lāng**, the pedal of a rice-postle, etc., glory, greatness, wide open (cf. Sh. 3c, a hole), to go down, float down (Sh. 3c); the embroidered end of a pillow, *lāng-ti*, to wager, bet, *a-lāng*, wide-power, God.
- lap**, to be out of sight, to hide, conceal (Sh. 5c, to conceal), to sharpen (Sh. 5c), to startle (cf. Sh. 2c, to tear): to get profit.
- lāp**, talking without regard to truth or propriety (Sh. *lāp-lip*, 5c, 5c, to act or speak like a buffoon. Cf. Assamese *luplapyā*).
- lat**, to speak, say, tell (Sh. 3c), to geld a bull; to show the way (cf. Sh. 4c, to make straight, a short cut); *lat-kham*, to say, a statement; *lat-kham-lau*, to say.
- lāt**, a piece of reed round which thread is wound for carrying in a shuttle, the quill of a shuttle (Sh. 2c), a knot of hair tied on the top of the head; short, low (Sh. 4c); to wipe; insincere.
- lau**, spirituous liquor (Assamese, *lau-pāni*), wine (Sh. *lau*, 3c); a place for keeping fowls (Sh. *lau*, 5c); a stake; to speak (26); to intimate (Sh. *lau*, 2c, to coax); to frighten; to fish with a baited hook, to angle; to rot; a statement, to address a superior; *lat-kham-lau*, to say, speak, *kham-mq-lau*, a word, *ma-lau-kin*, ever, at any time; *shau-lau*, a kind of cake (Assamese, *sur-pithā*).
- le**, the cork of an oil-pot, to lick (Sh. 4c), to wipe dry, *le-pai-lē-ma*, backwards (and) forwards (56).
- li**, the tongue (Sh. *lin*, 5c) (cf. *lin*); a path; gradually thinner; a dam and tunnel-shaped trap for catching fish (Sh. *li*, 3c); *a-lā-mī-li*, a person of the Daffa tribe.
- lik** (pronounced *lik*), non (Sh. *lik*, 4m), paper (Sh. *lik*, 3c, a book); to remain at a distance, to take in exchange (Sh. *lik*, 3c, to exchange); to be broken by pounding, to remain grave, steady, to confess, a pill (in medicine), small (Sh. *lik*, 5m); to tend, take care of, *khā-lik*, a male paid servant (Sh. *khā-la*, 3c, 5c); *pā-lik*, a shepherd, *lik-khā*, a child, *lik-phai*, a flute, *lai-lik*, a certain term of abuse.
- līm** (pronounced *lim*), an arrow (Sh. 3c, anything long and slender).
- lin** (pronounced *lin*), the tongue (Sh. *lin*, 5c) (cf. *li*), a great-grandfather; to be united, joined, to amuse oneself (Sh. *lin*, 3m), to run (see *lin*); *shau-lin*, a kind of play (Assamese, *gutsilatā khedā*).
- liñ** (pronounced *len*), to run (Sh. 3c), see *lin*.
- ling** (pronounced *ling*), a monkey (Sh. *ling*, 4c); a fisherman, a man of the fishing caste, a Döm; light, not dark, the male organ; to adopt, adopted (Sh. *ling*, 5m, to cherish); to tame, tame, cattle; to tend cattle (Sh. *ling*, 2c, to fasten up an ox or other animal), *lā-ling*, a monkey, *khāng-ling*, goods and chattels, property, *man-ling* (pr. *-lēng*), a certain plant (Assamese, *ban naharu*).
- lip** (pronounced *lip*), to dash away breaking the line in one corner, to dash across a frontier or boundary, to break bounds; unripe (Sh. *lip*, 4c).
- lit** (pronounced *lit*), a paper, a letter; a holy book (*sāstra*); the will,

- thought, to patch; to deceive; a song in honour of a god.
- liw**, a wicker grain-basket; a notch cut at the top of a pole; a paternal aunt; cunning; one-sided, inclining to one side (cf. *Sh. lung*, 2c); alone (*Sh. lu* or 4c, a single thing) (cf. *drw*), pointed; to look behind (*Sh. lu*, to turn round the head); *lu-kham*, a kind of plant (Assamese, *bañqā jugiyari*), *lu-ngan* (pr. *-ngen*), a kind of plant (Assamese, *dhalā jugiyari*).
- lo**, an iron spike or pin, a spindle-full of cotton (*Sh. 2c*), a person of the Abor tribe, the joint of two forked branches, a wine strainer, rough, to cast an image (*Sh. 2c*, to cast metal), to reproach.
- loiā**, see *lāi*.
- lu**, to be ruined (*Sh. 5c*), *tuk-lu*, to become diminished, *tak-lu-tak-pang*, to be spent, exhausted, used up. *kham-ma-lau lu*, to disobey an order.
- lū**, an elder brother's wife, to give, as a religious act (*Sh. 2c*), to tear in two pieces, to break, an iron instrument for digging; *lū-nai*, a father's sister, *nuc-lū*, a miser, *nam-lū*, immorality (*unūti*).
- lūk** (pronounced *luk*), a child (*Sh. luk*, 3c), a room (*Sh. luk*, 4c), a bud, a boy whose father is unknown, to happen, a suffix denoting the ablative case, *luk-man*, a son, *lūk-nung*, a daughter, *luk-pi-'ai*, an eldest son, *luk-ngi*, the youngest child of a family, *lūk-ngin-dī*, to ride in a sedan chair, also, to say.
- lūk**, to select (*Sh. 3c*), bangles (on the arm) or anklets.
- lum**, to fall (*Sh. 5c*), to fill in, to sink one's leg into mud (*Sh. 2c*): to smooth, smooth; to forget; all, entire, complete (*Sh. 3c*) (12), loose, not tight (*Sh. 1c*); air, wind (*Sh. 4c*) (pronounced *tōm*) (12, 13), *lun-shi*, a sharp pain in the heart (cf. *Sh. lum-nai*, 4c, 3c, to have the heartburn).
- lūn** (pronounced *lun*), last, after (cf. *lun*), late born, born last (Southern *Sh. lūn*, 4c, Northern *Sh. lun*, 4c), to be brimful (*Sh. lun*, 1c, to rise and overspread, as water); *lūn-lang*, afterwards; *poi - lūn - lang*, and, thereupon.
- lūn**, not fresh: to make, construct, after (*Sh. 4c*) (cf. *lūn*), *tūn - lūn*, after that, then (18, 64).
- lāi** (pronounced *lu*), to lean.
- lūng** (pronounced *lung*), great, large (*Sh. lung*, 1c); to eat something on a road; to come down, descend (*Sh. lung*, 4c); to pack grain in a wicker grain-basket; to beat (*Sh. lung*, 3c); to become silted up (as a tank).
- lūng**, yellow (*Sh. 1c*), sprightly; the number 1 (*Sh. nung*, 3c) (9, 39, 42, 43, 45, 48, 54); the indefinite article, a, an; *mai-lung-kā*, a kind of tree (Assamese, *bhātāghilā*).
- lūp** (pronounced *lup*), to rub (*Sh. lup*, 3c), to gild, plaster, overlay, duple (*Sh. lup*, 3c).
- lup**, an island, *lup-dun*, an island (2), *lup-mung*, an island (21, 29, 60).
- lūt** (pronounced *lut*), to endure, mixed or made soft by trampling done by a child.
- lūt**, blood (*Sh. 3c*), hot (cf. *dut*).
- luw**, the *s'āddha* ceremony, a weaver's shuttle, an arm (the limb), to become reconciled, to be at the head, take precedence (*Sh. 1c*, to exceed), the spit of a cock (*Sh. lūn-kai*, 1c, 2c), to suck, an enclosure.
- mā**, an ass; a negative particle (*Sh. mau*, 2c), *kūn-mā*, a fool, ignorant.
- ma**, a dog (with an abrupt tone) (*Sh. mā*, 1c), a horse (with a long tone) (*Sh. ma*, 5c), a fox (*Sh. ma-lun*, 1c), to come (*Sh. 4c*), to void excrement (55), *ma-lau-kun*, ever, at any time, *ma-pā*, a kind of gooseberry (Assamese, *jetulupaka*), *ma-lung-khuc*, a kind of prickly shrub (Assamese, *putikāhat*); *le-pai-lē-ma*, backwards (and) forwards (56), *kham-ma-lau*, a word, *kham-ma-cham*, as soon as, *ma-me*, a mare, *ma-thung*, to arrive, 'au-ma, to bring.
- mai**, a bamboo (*Sh. 5c*), mischief, damage, a pole (cf. *Sh. 5c* above); to burn (*Sh. 3c*), to write (*Sh. 1c*, to make a sign or mark), a suffix which denotes any case except the nominative; wood, a tree (*Sh. 5c*) (31); *mai-lung-kā*, a kind of tree (Assamese, *bhātāghilā*), *thar-māi*, a man of the Muluk tribe.
- mak**, a fruit (*Sh. 2c*); a plant; old, to chew the cud, a master, owner, mature, to weave; *mak-mo-māny*, a mango; *mak-lang*, a jack-fruit; *mak-phrung*, a certain fruit (*Averrhoa carambola*); *mak-phit-thün*, a certain

- plant (Assamese, *dighalath gachh*); *mak-kluwäng* (pr. -*kläng*), the *papaya* fruit.
- māk**, a cloud (Sh. 2c; cf. *blāk*); to dazzle the eyes (cf. Sh. 2o, to be dim-sighted from age).
- maṁ**, boiled rice; a miser.
- maṁ**, to speak (cf. Sh. *māk*, 2c).
- man**, a root, a sweet potato (Sh. 4c); oil, grease (Sh. 4c), fat, stout (cf. *mang*), gain (Sh. 1o, to be successful in what was sought); he, she, it (Sh. 4c) (16, 40, 42, 43, 44, 52, 55, 56, 57), a pleonastic particle, said to give the idea of respect, added to male nouns of relationship, as in *po-man*, a father, *man-no*, a kind of wild root (Assamese, *takariyā ālu*); *man-ling* (pronounced -*leng*), a certain plant (Assamese, *ban nahari*), *khām-man*, or *khām-man*, the turning out correctly of something said, the fulfilment of a prophecy, *ph-man*, disaffection, want of love, to endure, *phī-man*, a kind of headache, which comes at sunrise, *than-man*, an arbitrator amongst the Kachāris.
- man**, trust, confidence, a pillow (Sh. 1c), Biahmā.
- mañ**, see *moñ*.
- mang**, other (cf. Sh. 1o, some), stout, fat (but Sh. 1o, to be thin) (cf. *man*), to poke at, to break by poking at (cf. Sh. 1c, to pound); to be untold (of cloth), *pu-mang-shai*, an abscess; 'āng-mang, water in which rice has been boiled, congee.
- mang**, intelligent, a stake, peg, *mak-mo-mang*, a mango.
- map**, a bambusa fish-trap, to rob.
- māp**, to tie the body (Sh. 4c, to gather one's clothes round oneself).
- mat**, evening twilight, evening, a kind of ant (Sh. 4c, a flea) (cf. *mut*); an eel-spear (Sh. 2o, a pointed stick).
- māt**, quality; to walk in a solemn manner.
- mau**, a kind of ant; unable to utter articulate sounds, tongue-tied (Sh. *mau*, 3c, to have soreness of the tongue), to extort, to become pale or bloodless; light, not heavy (Sh. *mau*, 1c); fleshy, stout; to praise; *mau-khan*, a kind of bracelet worn by men.
- maṭi**, thou (Sh. 4c); *maü-pü*, a wife's elder sister.
- me**, a mother (Sh. 3o, but *me*, 4c, a wife, cf. *mī*), to strike; to get cleared or cleaned (Sh. 4o, to put in order); a feminine suffix employed with irrational animals; *hū-me*, a cow; *ma-me*, a mare; *me-ā*, a father's sister; *me-kan*, to feel affection, *chāng-me*, improper, not suitable.
- mī**, good (Sh. *li*, 1c), a wife, a female (Sh. *me*, 4c, but *me*, a mother, 3o); a string of beads, the datura or thorn-apple; not to be (contrast Sh. *mī*, 4c, to be) (20 bis); not to mix, a feminine suffix used with human beings and the like (22); dark (Sh. 3c) (47), like (47); *kūn-mī*, a woman; *buw-mī*, not to be (22 bis), *pai-mī*, not to be (1, 2, 5); *āng-mī*, not to be (8, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20); 'au-mī, to marry; 'a-kā-mī-ā, a person of the Daffa tribe.
- mik** (pronounced *mik*), ignorant (Sh. *muk*, 3o).
- miñ** (pronounced *men*), a Nāgā (? Sh. 2o), a porcupine (Sh. *mun*, 3m), to peel, to break with tongs, a cat (cf. *miw*).
- mīng** (pronounced *mung*), life (Sh. 3c, fate, destiny).
- mīp** (pronounced *mip*), to shampoo, squeeze with the fingers (Sh. 2c).
- mit**, a knife (Sh. 3c, Assamese, *mit-katōri*), a rainbow in the east.
- miw**, a cat (Sh. 4o).
- mlān**, the mulberry (Sh. *mān*, 4c).
- mling** (pronounced *mleng*), a white ant (cf. Sh. *mung*, 4o, an insect); a fire-fly (47).
- mlip** (pronounced *mlip*), lightning (Sh. *pha-mip*, 5c, 3o).
- mlun**, to open the eyes (Sh. *mun*, 4c); *mlun-ta*, to open the eyes (19).
- mo**, a learned man (Sh. 1c, to know how to do a thing, be skilled in); a Dōdhai or Ahom priest; intelligence, wisdom; an earthen cooking-pot (Sh. 3c); an archer; a whisper (cf. Sh. 4c, to creak); *mak-mo-mang*, a mango; *mo-ran*, a Matak or Moran, a well-known caste in Upper Assam.
- moi**, the short hair about parts of the body, as under the armpits, etc. (Sh. 1c, to be tired (N. Sh. 3c) (cf. *moñ*); to become exhausted.
- moiñ** or **mañ** (pronounced *moy*), fatigue (cf. *moñ*); pride, haughtiness.

mrat, a camel

mū, see *muw*.

mūk (pronounced *mul*), a kind of arum (Sh 4c), a cap, hat to attire, clothe, to ask to be ceremonially unclean

muk, a mosquito

mun, virtue the wild silkworm lot late to sprout (Sh 4c) to empty *khau-mun*, rice-frumenty

min, a cut ten thousand (Sh 2c) to slip (Sh 3c, to be slippery) to open the eyes (Sh 4c) (see *mlun*) past time rejoicing to be happy (Sh *mun*, 30) *hit-mun*, to rejoice *pr-mun-mun* for (so *mun*) years

mūn or **muñ** (pronounced *may*) to be destroyed to devastate most (Sh 10) (63)

muñ (pronounced *may* or *mu*), dew to jump

mung, a country, a kingdom the world (Sh 40) (2, 3 6 11 19 21 29, 35 39 43, 51, 52 59 60 145) to thatch a house very quickly (52 53) to hum buzz to abuse *mu q-lho*, to use down-stem the country lower down a river *ru-mu q*, the north (44) *shar-* - - - the id-rod-county the id-rod the mud *Iayus* (15, 30) *hit-mung chau* to present a gift *I - - -* in island (21 29, 60) *I - - -* foreign country

mūp (pronounced *mup*), to be wavy to be undulatory

mut an ant (Sh 50) (if *mut*) in cel to clean clean (Sh 40) to slip *mut-tan* to coincide

mūt, to tame a wild animal to tame

muw or **mū**, a belil-nut (Sh *mu*, 5c) a kind of wild nut the hind (Sh *muu* 1c) (17) a bow (Sh *mu* 1c) time, a day (Sh *muu*, 30 time) (1, 8 64) the weather the season for cultivating my crop a gift to have at one's hand ancient time *ku-muu*, every time, always *na-kan-muu*, as usual *muu-nai*, then *muu-nau* now (36) *jun-muu*, beginning time, in the beginning (1) *mu-tun* (pr -*tui*) to reconcile *muu-nan*, for ever (38) *ram-mu*, powdered chaff *shu-mu*, to be silent, *tham-o-mu*, a plough

nā, very, exceedingly (Sh 2c) thick, not thin (Sh 1c) (59) a suffix of the future (rare except with *pai-ha*, to go), *nam-nā*, very many, *nā-kip*,

a field *lak-khā-nā*, a chaste woman, *shā-nā*, to make an offering; cf *na*

na (often written *na*), a rice-field (Sh *na*, 4c), disease, the mouth, face (Sh *na*, 3c), the front to return, *na-kip*, *na-din*, a field, *hun-nā-kun*, a cultivator *an-na*, before, *nā-kan-muw*, as usual *Ihang-na*, before in the presence of

nā or **nā**, medicine (Sh *ya*, 1c, 3c), grass (Sh *ya*, 3c), to come in a shoal as fishes to catch fish while coming in a shoal, opium (Sh *yā-lam* 3c 1c) (*nā*) a forest (63), *nā-hik-lot*, a certain medicinal herb (Assamese, *lai pabai*) *nā-dan-hi*, a certain copper (Assamese, *phājā lat*) *na-plid-g-phar*, a certain tree, *Machilus odoratissima* identified in Assam as the same plant *na-kau-Ia-hit* a kind of creeping plant used for medicinal purposes (Assamese *thid i lat*) *na-nig* a kind of grass (Assamese *hurl da ban*) *na-la q-l* a kind of sharp-edged grass (Assamese *nidmri ban*)

nai a day (cf Sh *nai* 1c meaning) now (cf Sh *nai*, 1c thus &c, here) to reply to spoil to sew (cf *naim* this (Sh 3c) a patch similarity unexpectedness *puu-nai q nu* on account of this in order that *muu-nai* now then, to-day (cf *muu-nai*) *tam-nai*, from this then therefore *Ia-nai*, at this now *ti-na*, place this now, here *plau-nai*, when *chu-chang nu*, because, therefore *chang-nu* now (37) *nai-cham*, now next thereupon (49) *lu-nai*, a father's sister

nai a dragon fly to be scattered (Sh *ya*, 30)

nak, in other heavy (Sh 1c) to be in difficulty

nak, the horn of a rhinoceros to measure the weight of anything, (46) a bone to respect putrid delight, to sound sleep *pi-nai* to be offended

nāk, to do something unimportant, not important to cut things while walking

nāk, to put pressure on, *hi-nāk*, to throw down by force, to break by throwing down violently

nam, water (Sh 5c) (40), many (Sh 1c), vapour, *nam-tāng*, a water-

- pot; *nam-nū*, very many; *nam-bidk-rung*, the water of the Ganges; *nām-shū-lā*, a shark, *nam-khum*, the river Dihh, in the district of Subsagar; *nam-lā-lū* (1), the ocean, *tut-nam*, to draw water.
- ñam**, bell-metal, false (of an accusation) (cf. *ñām*), a beam, the support of a roof, a kind of hairy caterpillar the touch of which causes irritation, to chew, to laugh, to eat with the lips (from a bamboo joint) as children and persons who have lost their teeth (Sh. *yam*, 5c), a couple, *ñam-lū*, immorality (*anīti*).
- ñām**, false, falsehood (cf. *ñam*), to colour or be coloured (cf. Sh. *yām*, 5c, to dye).
- nan**, lateness (Sh. 4o, to be long in doing), to quarrel, demonstrative pronoun, that (Sh. 5c), *an-nan*, *ā-nan*, that, *puw-nan*, on account of that, therefore, *muw-nan*, for ever (38).
- nān**, to nurse (a child or sick person), to watch over, to sleep (Sh. 4c), *nān-jān*, nursing a child or sick person.
- ñan**, all-knowing (Sh. *ñan*, intellect = Skt. *jñānam*).
- ñāñ** (pronounced *ñoy*); drizzling rain (Sh. *yoi*, 4c).
- nang**, a girl (Sh. 4o, a sister), to sit (Sh. 3c) (37, 57, 61), to be in distress, difficulty (56), of what sort?, according to, *adi*, like, as (31), thus (1) (Sh. 2c), *puw-nang*, or in order that, *nang-khum-pluu*, to sit with one leg over the other in the Ahom fashion.
- nāng**, a lake, a pond (Sh. 1c), a younger brother or sister (Sh. 5c), *nāng-ñang*, *nang-nang*, a younger sister, *pi-nāng*, a younger brother, *nāng-shan*, an adult younger sister.
- ñang**, to be (Sh. *yang*, 4c) (cf. *jang*) (46, 47) (written *jang*, but pronounced *nang* in 8, 11, 12, 17, 40), *ñang-mī*, not to be (16, 19, 20); *ñang-mī*, to be dark (47).
- nap**, to count (Sh. 5c), to thrust in, to stick up in the ground.
- ñap**, distress (Sh. *yap*, 2o, to be difficult).
- ñāt**, a young leaf not yet opened (Sh. *yāt*, 3c).
- nau** or **naw**, a mistress, a paramour; a wife, inside (see *nau*); putrid (Sh. *naw*, 3c), slightly putrid, not fresh, to raise and bring, to march, to be cold (Sh. *naw*, 1o).
- nau**, inside, in, into, the inside (cf. *nau*; Sh. 4c), *nau-chai*, the breast (30); *muw-nau* (cf. *muw-nat*), 1ow (36).
- ñau** (also spelt *jau* and *janu*), a great or large man (Sh. *yau*, 2c, great, big); great, gigantic [40 (*jau*), 54 (*ñau*), 56 (*janu*), 58 (*janu*)] ; *kān-phā-ñau*, the name of the au-gods (49).
- naum**, to sew (cf. *nat*).
- ñaw**, to draw a line.
- ne**, to give oneself to; to leak through (as the roof of a house); a certain squirrel-like animal, to push against, *phā-tuw-chung-n-pung*, instruction from God (34) (*ne* apparently means 'from').
- ngā**, a mole (on the body), **ngā-ngū*, many moles (33), a tusk (Sh. 4c) (cf. *nga*), *pe-ngū*, a goat (Sh. *pē-ngau*, 5o, 1o), *rāng-ngū*, tusked, of an elephant (43).
- nga**, ivory (cf. *ngā*), the sesamum and its seed (Sh. *ngā*, 4c), hair-hipped, to aim at (Sh. *ngā*, 1c), the spikes attached to a fish-trap.
- ngai**, lust, sexual desire, to wish, to come quickly into being; easy (Sh. 3o), a pair, *ngai-shī*, to separate a pair.
- ngak**, dropsy, to rend asunder, to go aside.
- ngāk**, to thrust in, to look with the head raised (Sh. 3c, to raise the head), crooked (Sh. 5c).
- ngam**, a hole, a leaning or reclining, pressure (cf. *ngap*); to hatch, incubate (Sh. *ngām*, 4c), to cover the body from head to foot with a cloth (Sh. 4c, to shade by covering); nice, beautiful, handsome (Sh. 4o, to be good) (6, 19, 34); to warp (as a board).
- ngām**, to swell, to be puffed up.
- ngan**, a cobra, a kind of disease (a form of diarrhoea), *pan-ngan*, to seek company, join oneself to.
- ngān**, a knoll, a hillock, handsome.
- ngap**, to take away, a kind of basket; to lean (cf. *ngam*).
- ngāp**, to be afraid of, to sleep.
- ngau**, **ngau**, or **ngaw**, a wild cat, light, a ray of light (Sh. *ngaw*, 4c, emitted brightness) (32, 33); to tear off; moss, to manure.
- ngaum**, a stick thrown from the hand.

ngaw, to roar to peep through, to grope for, to suck
age, a boundary, a well-doer, one who does kindly actions, a stopper made of soft materials, a cork (cf *ñuw*) ashes even, stright bowed, bent (of the body) a prop
ngi, the barking deer, the youngest son of a family *tu-ngi*, *tuw-ngi*, a deer, *luk-ngi*, the youngest child
ngik rū shi, to strike the head against something
ngin (pronounced *ngin*) to hear (Sh *ngin*, 4m) *ngin ku*, to get frightened *hw-ngin* (pr *-ngen*), a kind of plant (Assamese, *dhala jugiyari*) *luk-ngin-di*, to ride in a sedan chair also to say
ngip (pronounced *ngip*) a kind of stand
ngiw, a Eunuch
ngū the fifth son of a family a snake (Sh 4c)
ngūk, an imaginary water animal, a water naga
ngun or **ngūn** (pronounced *ngun*), mutual pleasure
ngun silver (Sh 4c) a skein of thread See also *ngi*
ngūp (pronounced *ngup*) to remain with the head raised
ngup, to break a piece of split bamboo
ngūt, to aim at
ngūw or **nguw**, a chiasm to lay down a pole to break by trampling to go with the body bent
nī, to go away (Sh 1c to go) overripe to get into debt (Sh 3c, a debt) remote, in *shai-mi* distant
ñi, to plan, consult to coincide (Sh 2c)
nīk (pronounced *nīk*) to flow down the neck (of water in bathing) *nīk - cha* alas! 'a - *nīk*, extreme misery
ñīk (pronounced *ñīk*), to make a ticking sound
num, to be dented (Sh 4o to be concave, a concave spot of ground), to push with the elbow
nūn (pronounced *nen*), to become compact (Sh 3o to be hard, not pliant 5o to compress crowd) to bury in the earth small in stature to walk with the breast elevated (cf Sh *ning*, 3o to walk with the shoulders thrown back) a kind of plant (Assamese, *kayūl-phulā*)
ning (pronounced *ning*), a kind of

stand, a kind of tray mounted on a leg
ñing (pronounced *ñing*), a female (Sh. *ying*, 4c) (cf *ñung*), to creep, the eaves of a house to sit close, each touching the other's body *ñing-jā*, a wicked woman
nīw, matted hair any kind of bean or pulse a finger or toe (cf *ñiw*) (Sh the same, 5c) *nūw-lu*, a miser
ñiw, a cork, a stopper made of soft materials (cf *nge*) a finger (cf *nūw*) (Sh *nūw*, 5c) a block of wood, to make water (Sh *yūw*, 3m), sweet juice
no, a sprout, shoot (Sh 2c) a wen, a pimpled tumour *man-no*, a kind of wild root (Assamese *takanyā alu*) *no-vo nūw-vo*, on the head, against it *nūw*
ño to charm to bend
noi, small (Sh 3c to be small) low
ñoi threshed paddy a kind of fly (Assamese *niqaphili*)
nū see *nūw*
nū a broom (Sh *nu*, 1c) *nū-chu* an ant
nūk (pronounced *nul*) a bird (Sh *nul*, 2o) *di ul* (Sh *nul* 2o) *nuk-ti*, a dove
nuk in *shuu-nuk*, a stitch in sewing
ñuk to use (Sh *ñul*, 3c or 5o) to push with pressure
ñuk, to pat with the hand to feel a sudden resentment in its front
nūm (pronounced *nūm*) a handsome-looking man the breast adder (Sh *nūm* 4o)
ñūm (pronounced *nūm*) a bush (Sh *ñum* 4c a clump of bushes) to be hurried to smile (Sh *ñum*, 5c)
nūn (pronounced *nū*) cotton (Sh 3c, the product of the wild cotton-tree) weariness (Sh 4c, to be exhausted from fatigue, illness or the effect of medicine) verdigris
nūñ (pronounced *nū*) in *pat-nūñ*, a certain plant Job's tears
nūñ (pronounced *nū*) to throw away *nūñ - kharu* to sing songs in exchange, to sing against one another
ñuñ (pronounced *ñuñ*), to feel the hands and feet asleep
nūng (pronounced *nūng*), to stir, shake, move to go astray to happen a method of cooking rice (it is put in a covered pot without water, which is placed over boiling water), to put on (clothes) *nūng-tang*, to put on (clothes), *Thau-nūng*, boiled *barā*

- rice (it becomes soft when put in water)
- hāng** (pronounced *hūng*), a mosquito (Sh *yung*, 4c) displeasure
- hūng**, to prevent from advancing by standing in the way (cf Sh *yung*, 3c, to remain gathered together in a crowd), a plant (*Plumbago rosea*), a female, a woman (cf *hūng*) (Sh *yung*, 4c), a suffix or prefix denoting the female of human beings *khā-nung*, a female servant *nūng-nung*, *nung-nūng*, a sister *luk-nung*, a daughter
- nūp** (pronounced *nup*), a species of flying insect (Assamese, *lota mal hi*)
- nūp**, the measure of the hand with the fingers extended to proceed to impaling down
- nūt** (pronounced *nut*) a bend (Sh *nut*, 2c) (cf *nūt*) to split up by bending, the end of a thing (cf Sh *nut*, 3c, to reduce to small particles)
- nūt**, a bend (Sh *nut* 2c) (cf *nut*)
- nūw** or **nu** a rat or mouse (Sh *nu*, 1c) flesh (Sh *nuu*, 5c) rice, lunch (Sh *nuu*, 2c) up above, on (Sh *nuu* 1c) (also *nu*) (c, 4c) white *tam-nu* place above, on (42 41)
- pā**, a conical basket used by Nagas for carrying a burden on the back (cf Sh 3c to suspend from the shoulder) to copulate (cf *pa*) half of anything inside (cf Sh 3c, inside) to gaze *lan-pa* towards *pa-luk* a Shaphid *pa-lan* to copulate
- pa**, to accompany (Sh 4c) *pa-lan*, to have sexual intercourse with (cf *pa*)
- pai**, a kind of tree (*Tamarix indica*) to go much (Sh 1c) oblique (Sh 2c, to turn aside) front to bow low (cf Sh 3c to hang over) quickly (cf Sh 3c to run) negative not (Sh 1c, prohibitive particle) *le-pai-le-ma*, backwards (and) forwards (36) *par-ka*, to go *par-lan*, to run *par-mi*, not to be (1, 2, 5)
- pak**, the mouth (Sh 2c) (16), the inside of the mouth, the numeral 100 (Sh 2c) regular to become, to raise a post (Sh 4c) a pumpkin (Sh 5c) *pak-bar*, to call to name (49)
- pāk**, to return to wrap a cloth round the body to skin, peel (Sh 2c) (cf. *puh*), *tū-rū-pak*, a blunder, mistake
- pam**, to kick (Sh. 1c, to push away violently), to braid
- pām**, the palat, the heel, a pillow, a bolster a short post to which a buffalo-calf is tied, to unite, to reconcile (Sh *pam*, 1c) to be removed, separate, off *pām-kun*, means of livelihood
- pan**, a kind of hemp plant, rhea (Sh 2c), to twist, rotate (Sh 2c), to hold, grasp to uphold (38), to become cold to divide, *pan-kū*, relative pronoun, who, which
- pān**, to clean cotton (Sh 3c), to cause to pass through, to put into the mouth (as food) (Sh 3c)
- pang**, a plum (Sh 2c, to be level), a hare (Sh *pang-lai*, 1c, 4c) a fellow-deer a mithan or Indian bison rich the spleen (Sh 3c), an ulcer (Assamese *pang*), high land to break (Sh 4c to break down) to open, unite to be ruined *ta-ping* to become ruined, *luk-lu-tai ping* to be spent, expended *pa-g-dun*, a man of the Miri tribe
- pap** living a dependent in another's house
- pat** a scum to cut with a sliding motion (Sh 2c) to be in a leaning position to wum, *pat-nūi* (pi-nue), a certain plant, Job's tears
- pat**, to rub (Sh 3c) to plaster cropped (cf Sh 4c to be short), the utterbirth of a lower animal
- pau** (pronounced *po*) a daughter-in-law (Sh *hul-pau*, 3c, 5c), a sentinel see *pu* below to put on, clothe (Sh *pu* 4c)
- pai** or **paw** (pronounced *pau*), to pole, push with a pole uneven blowing of wind to blow with the mouth (Sh *hū* 2c) to keep watch (Sh *pu* 3c) to wait for, attend on (Sh *pau-ka-g* 3c, 1c, to stand sentry) to select to curse
- paum** to stutle
- paw** see *pan*
- pe** a goat (Sh 5c) a ratt, two boats tied together, with a platform between (Sh 4c) to conquer (Sh 5c) to go behind *pe-ga* (Sh *pe-ngan*, 5c, 1c, a he-goat), a goat
- phā** or **pha**, a kung, cloth, a garment (Sh 3c), heaven, the sky (Sh 5c) (1, 5, 6, 13, 20, 21, 24, 45, 55, 56, 58, 61), a wall, partition (Sh 1c), to split (Sh. 2c), to

- divide (Sh. 2c, to split); to pierce (33); God (Sh. *phrāh*, 4c) (9) (nom. *phā-ko*, 14, 18, 29, 30), *phā-tiu-chūng*, the Supreme Deity, God Almighty (27, 34, 38, 53), *pha-hum*, a certain plant (Assamese, *barun-gachh*), *kān-phā-nau*, the name of the *Vāyus* or air-gods (19), *chung-phā*, God (49); *kān-chung-phā*, the good God (49); *phā-khrung-klang*, a halt, *tau-pha*, earth and heaven.
- phai**, fire (Sh. 1c), a side (Sh. 2o), a high land, a laver, a strong person; an embankment (Sh. 1o, a small dam), to jump, to beckon, to walk, go (Sh. 3o, see *phai*), *lik-phai*, a flint, *nā-plūng-phai*, a certain tree, *Machilus odoratissima*, identified in Assam as the *Sōma* plant.
- phak**, a vegetable, a bribe (Sh. 2o, to send a present); the embordered end of a round pillow, a side, an army, a scabbard, smooth, plain, to run down, press closely down, the bank of a river (Sh. *phang*, 2c)
- phāk**, an unskilled woman (Sh. 2c, to be incapable of learning), ugly, sappy, full of sap, a feast, to sprinkle water on the body (Sh. 4c, to sprinkle)
- pham**, the part of a limb between two joints (cf. *plūng*); a kind of aquatic grass, to remain in a compact body.
- pham**, morality (*niti*), all, an example, to ramble, wander, low and bushy (as shrubs).
- phan**, an order, command, a dream (Sh. 1c), difficulty, distress (Sh. 1o), poverty, sorrow, calumny against an absent person, to create (Sh. 2o), to do, to call, to sow broadcast, seed kept for sowing (Sh. 4c, a seed), to cut (Sh. 1o, to slice, pare); *phan-kham*, an order, *phān-phan*, to float on poverty, to be destitute, *khā-phan*, to cut.
- phan**, a house, a sip, the quantity drunk at one gulp, to remain grave, serious.
- phān**, see *phoiñ*.
- phang**, a foreigner, a Bengali, a Musalmān; a false statement; a plant (*Plumbago rosea*), stubble of paddy; netted, reticular; night-blind; to cheat by imperfectly performing a work, to scamp; to fill up a hole (Sh. 1c, to bury), to draw a line, near, close to (cf. *phring*); *bidk-phang*, a certain flower (Assamese, *gariyā-phul*).
- phap**, to strike with a hoe; to beat with a club.
- phap**, to run on all fours.
- phat**, a bridge, to beat, to strike with a cane (Sh. 5c, to strike with a sharp stroke), to pour syrup (into a pot); to cut a leaf (cf. Sh. 2o, to sever); a joint; to tall; the striking of grass by an elephant; to read (Sh. 4c), to be bitter (Sh. 2o), yet, nevertheless.
- phât**, to sew a border, sew on a border; to make an elephant kneel down, to search minutely
- phau**, to scatter about (cf. *pharo*), a wish (Sh. *phau*, 2c); dust (Sh. *phang*, 1c). Often incorrectly written for *phian*.
- phaw**, a housekeeper, a wife; to be scattered (cf. *phau*).
- phe**, a plate (Sh. 1o), a piece of plain cotton cloth, a wash-bowl, a piece of wood on which *thang* is minced; to spread (Sh. 2o), to pervade; to give birth to, bring forth, to spread straw (cf. Sh. 2c, to unfold, 1o, to be scattered), to sun paddy, to blow with the mouth, to smooth with an adze.
- phī**, in *phī-man*, a kind of headache which comes at sunrise, *phī-dip*, a large boil, *to-phī*, a whirlpool.
- phik** or **phik** (pronounced *phik*), a kind of high coarse grass, to recognise, to feed by ejecting from the mouth, to feed from mouth to mouth.
- phīn** (pronounced *phūn*), a cotton gin, a shell, a cartwheel.
- phīñ** (pronounced *phen*), a layer, a flat piece of silver or gold (Sh. 2o, what is flat and hard).
- phip** (pronounced *phip*), to wink with the eye.
- phit** (pronounced *phut*), cold, warmthless, pungency, salty (Sh. 4m, be pungent), to be offended, to offend the goddess of smallpox; to make a mistake in playing chess (Sh. 4c, to miss the mark, be in error), to sin; *mak-phut-thun*, a certain plant (Assamese, *dighalati gachh*).
- phiw**, a bracelet; a tick; the fibrous outer bark of plants (Sh. 1c); slightly dry; to clear up, clear away, put in order (Sh. 3m); to be in excess (51); to vacate a place;

- to speak vehemently. *phuc-kham*, a gold bracelet.
- pho**, an eel-hole, an eel-pit; to roll in a green leaf and then to roast (cf. Sh. *phaw*, 1c, to roast); to move the legs backwards and forwards in agony, to remain for good, permanently.
- phoi**, a mole (the black spot); a tumult.
- phoiñ** or **phañ** (pronounced *phoi*), to drizzle (of rain) (Sh. *phoi*, 4c, to sprinkle), one who fills up a hole.
- phrā** or **phrā**, a rock, *kān-phrā-phuk*, a mass of white rock, Mount Mēru (44).
- phrai**, to go, walk (Sh. *phai*, 3o, see *phai*).
- phrang**, a cart, a guard; a means of deliverance, delivery, the act of saving or delivering, counsel, advice, to rest, to support, nourish, take care of a person; dust (Sh. 1c).
- phrai** (often written *phan*), who? (Sh. *phau*, 1c), any, a certain, anybody; *phrai-nau*, no one (3, 6, 9, 24, 26, 61) (in 61 the *bau* appears to be omitted), *phrai-na*, when?.
- phri**, a god, a spirit (Sh. *phī*, 1c, a being superior to man and inferior to the Brahmān, and having its dwelling-place in one of the six inferior celestial regions) (22), a ghost, a devil, a discharge from the eye (cf. Sh. *phī*, 1c, a boil, an ulcer), to form into layers, *phri-mī*, a goddess (22).
- phring**, a wooden stand on which religious manuscripts are placed; near (cf. *phang*). a custom, former habit (Sh. *phing*, 3c); to throw off, to be many, suffix of plurality (Sh. *phung*, 3c, cf. *phung*, a swarm).
- phrum**, han (Sh. *phum*, 1o), a crowd, a herd.
- phrung**, a swarm (Sh. *phung*, 1c, a collection) (cf. *phung* and *phrum*); to divide into two parts (cf. Sh. *phak*, 2o, to divide into two), to be flung off, to fall off (Sh. *phung*, 5o, to fly off scatteringly), to be renewed; a honeycomb (cf. *phrung*).
- phrung**, honey (Sh. *phung*, 3c, the honey-bee) (cf. *phrung*); to spread, as water on blotting-paper; to distribute; to sweat, perspire; *mak-phrung*, a certain fruit (*Averrhoa carambola*).
- phū**, a man, a male (Sh. 3c) (24, 54); a husband (Sh. *phuc*, 1c); in former times, to float (Sh. 4c); to change shoulder, to ease a burden on the shoulder; *kān-phū*, a man, a male; *phū-a-ta-ra*, God (cf. *phā*); *phū-phan*, to flout on poverty, to be destitute.
- phuk**, a nut, to tie, knit (Sh. 2c, to braid).
- phuk**, a kind of root, *varum*; a bamboo fence set up in a stream to intercept fish (Sh. 2o), to be white (Sh. 2o), to learn (Sh. 4c, to begin to learn to do anything); *kān-phū-phuk*, a mass of white rock (Mount Mēru) (44), *kham-phuk*, to learn to speak.
- phūn** or **phun** (pronounced *phun*), rain (Sh. 1o) (12, 13); one who revolts, an insurgent, to revolt; to upturn; firewood, fuel (Sh. *phun*, 4c); a four-legged platter or tray (especially for betel-nut) (Sh. *phun*, 1o); a long, narrow strip of split bamboo, to give the first binding to the edge (in basket-work).
- phun**, a metal plate used by Ahoms of rank; to disperse a meeting (Sh. 1c, to scatter).
- phūñ** (pronounced *phui*), the eaves of a house, shadow (Sh. 4o, the under foliage of a tree); to fly.
- phūp** (pronounced *phup*), to split
- phūt** (pronounced *phut*), to boil; nausea; to be agitated (of a human being) (cf. Sh. 2c, to rise up suddenly).
- phūt**, to be bent (of a *dao*).
- phuw**, a plank bored with many holes; a *rākshasa*, greedy (cf. Sh. *phī-lū*, 1c, 4c, a monster which devours human flesh, a word borrowed from Burmese), as much of anything as can be clasped in the arms; to slip, to go arm in arm (Sh. 4o); to bust (of paddy).
- pī**, a year (Sh. 1c), an elder brother or sister (Sh. 3c); fat (Sh. 4c, be corpulent) (cf. *phuw*); ill for a long time, suffering from a chronic disease, a horn, a pipe (the wind instrument) (Sh. 2c), a pencil; a plantain-bud (Sh. 1c); to whisper; *lūk-pī'ai*, an eldest son; *rō-pī-lung*, a year ago; *pī-kai*, an elder brother; *pī-nung*, an elder sister; *pī-muō-mūn*, for (so many) years.
- pik** (pronounced *pik*), a feather (Sh. *pik*, 2c, a wing); a net; the ear;

to save money, *pik-man*, disaffection, want of love; to endure.

pin, pin (pronounced *pun*), to be, become (Sh. *pin*, 1m) (1, 37, 56 bis, 60); to get, to make (57 bis); to be turned back or over (Sh. *pin*, 3c), used to form potential verbs, as in *kau-pin-po*, I may strike; *pin-khun*, a leper (cf. Sh. *pin*, 1m, to be sick), *pin-shan*, a widower, *pin-ngan*, to seek company, join oneself to, *pin-rung*, spongy, yielding to pressure; *pin-nâk*, to be offended, *pin-mang-shai*, an abscess, *khan-pin*, broken rice, *pin-'âk*, ripe; *pin-pin*, to become a pattern, to create (39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 54), *lâk-pin*, to become transformed, to create (58), *run-pin*, bring-out-become, to weave (of a spider) (56).

piâ (pronounced *pin*), a plank, a board (Sh. 3o), to prune, to beg alms.

ping, ping (pronounced *pung*), love, affection (Sh. *pung*, 4o, to love), a cake, a leech (Sh. *pung*, 1c); white; sufficient (Sh. *pung*, 4m, be even, equal), to roast on a spit (Sh. *pung*, 3c), to worship the dead, *pung-kun*, love, affection.

pit (pronounced *pet*), the number 8 (Sh. 2o), toothless, 'a-pit, offence, crime, fault, *ship-pit*, eighteen.

pît (pronounced *pit*), a duck (Sh. *pit*, 4m), a sticky substance, gum, to pluck fruit (Sh. 4c), to admit, confess, to take

piw, the edge of the eyelid, the sharp edge of a *dao*, a crab's hole (Sh. 1m, a hole); thin-bodied, an estate, landed property, town, rent, to go late, be late in going, to subside (Sh. 3o, to decrease a little), to be flung away.

pla, a fish (Sh. *pâ*, 1c); the chief priest of a Hindu temple.

plai, thus.

plâng, that part of anything included between two joints or knots, as in the arm, or in a bamboo (Sh. *plâng*, 3c) (cf. *phan*), to consult, consider (Sh. *plâng*, 1c, to consider) (28); one suffering from elephantiasis (cf. *pung*) (cf. Sh. *plâng*, 4c, to swell up); selection, a kind of bead, a rhetorical or ornamental word; to burst (Sh. *plâng*, 2c, to be pierced); outspoken, simple, artless, clear, transparent, *kün-plâng*, one who binds himself to serve another in payment of a debt,

nang-khroi-plâng, to sit with one leg over the other in the Ahom fashion; *na-plâng-phai*, a certain tree, *Machilus odoratissima*, identified in Assam as the Sôma plant.

plau, an arrow (cf. Sh. *pün*, 1c); empty, vacant (Sh. *pau*, 2o) (7, 12).

plüng, plüng (pronounced *plung*), half, a portion (39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 54), to bring or put down (Sh. *pung*, 1o) (52), to throw away (Sh. *pung*, 3c, to throw in or at).

pluw, betel (Sh. *pu*, 5c), a cause (Sh. *puw*, 3o, because of), fleshy, corpulent (cf. *pî*), to go round and round over anything.

po, a father (Sh. *pō*, 3c); people at large, the whole body of people in a state, a benediction, blessing, fame, renown, praise, to say, speak (31); to beat (Sh. 5c), *po-man*, a father; *po-tai*, to kill; *po-khuā* (pr. -*khu*), the husband of a father's sister; 'am-po, to bargain.

poi, a thread, twine, string (Sh. *mai*, 1c), to exceed, be more, moreover, again, then (Sh. *pai*, 1o, or *poi*, 4c, to exceed, *poi-lung*, 4c, 1c, moreover) (18, 25, 43, 45, 48, 50, 54, 56, 61), to open, *poi-'an*, and; *poi-lün-lang*, and, moreover.

pū, a fallow deer, a grandfather (Sh. 2c), a crab (Sh. 1c) (39), to fall, *pū-'ai*, a father's sister, *mau-pū*, a wife's elder sister, *ma-pū*, a kind of gooseberry (Assamese, *jetulipakā*).

pūk (pronounced *puk*), a tortoise, to tie up the han (cf. Sh. *puk*, 5o, to bind up a package), foam, scum (Sh. *puk*, 2o), to scatter seed, to climb (as a creeper).

puk, bark, peel, rind (Sh. 2o) (cf. *pâk*); to worship, to ooze out.

püm (pronounced *pum*), a Brāhman (Sh. *pung-nā*, 2c, 4c), the entrails, a kind of covered bamboo basket; a stack, a tick, a pot-bellied.

pün (pronounced *pun*), a secret counsel; a spell, charm, a person other than oneself (cf. *pun*); beyond; *pün-mung*, a foreign country.

pun, an island (cf. Sh. *kun*, 1c) (52); the world (59, 63), other than oneself (cf. *pün*) (Sh. 3o); the thigh of an animal, to wear (clothes); to turn the eyes back, one who has no relation, *tî-pun*, the world; *pün-shan*, to be in doubt.

pūn (pronounced *pui*), rotten (cf. Sh. *pui*, 2o, to make soft by cooking,

- etc.); a small bamboo fish-trap; naked (Sh. *pūn*, 10).
- pung**, a water-hole or spring (Sh. 2c).
- pūng**, morality (*nīti*, cf. Sh. 10, pattern, example, rule); instruction (34). one suffering from elephantiasis (cf. *plāng*); to trample, tread down.
- pūp** (pronounced *pup*) to gallop (of a horse).
- pūp**, a hole in which fishes live
- pūt** (pronounced *put*), a document; to get open, to unloose (Sh. *put*, 40) resin; a substitute (cf. Sh. 3c, to change).
- pūw**, on account of, *puw-nan*, therefore, *puw-nung-na*, in order that
- ra**, illness, sickness, ill, sick (Sh. *hā*, 3c, an epidemic); a long bamboo for hanging up clothes, difficulty, a person of the Chutia tribe, to ruin heavily (Sh. *hā*, 2c, a shower), much; *phū-ra-tu-ra*, God, *tañ* (pr. *tan*)-*ra*, of the same family.
- rai**, a net for catching pigeons (Sh. *hai*, 20); a kind of louse, a kind of mite (Sh. *hai*, 4c, the minute lice of animals or fowls, cf. *rau*); poor (cf. *rau*), liable to tax, to leave, abandon, lose (cf. *rau*), bent, a confirmed invalid to shme, bad (Sh. *hai*, 50), *rau-dau*, to lose.
- rak**, affection (Sh. *hak*, 5c), a root (Sh. *hak*, 30), to break (Sh. *hak*, 4c), to wet, *rah-kau*, to love, to favour.
- rāk**, a spear (Sh. *hāl*, 2c), a squirrel.
- ram**, a sedan (*dālā*), rice (cf. Sh. *ham*, 4c, rice dust), a load carried by two persons (Sh. *ham*, 10), the world, many, lonely, to relapse, to return (of a disease) to put together jute fibres for making a rope (cf. Sh. *ham*, 4c, to roll up), *ram-mū*, powdered chaff, *shā-ram*, a sugarcane mill, *ta-ram*, to drabble at the heels (like the end of a waist-cloth).
- ram**, pregnant (Sh. *hām*, 4c); to assemble at a place (cf. Sh. *ham*, 1c, to collect in numbers in order to seize upon anything), to do; to pay rent, to collect, to collect fuel (Sh. *hām*, 1c, to collect together, as money), to join the palms (Sh. *hām*, 4c, to unite). See *rān*.
- ran**, vermilion, cinnabar (Sh. *han*, 10); a layer, a stratum (Sh. *han*, 50, to place one above the other); a foundation (53); a buffalo-horn used as a wind instrument; a conch-shell, a cross-beam under a platform (cf. Sh. *ham*, 40, the main timber under a floor); confused, chaos (cf. *rān*) (8, 11, 17); a roll of thread (46); *ran-ko*, layer-establish, a foundation (1); *mo-ran*, a Mutak or Moran, a well-known caste in Upper Assam.
- rān**, heat (Sh. *hān*, 5c, to be hot) (cf. *rau*), to ring, to cause to sound, to join; to inform; (or *rām*) deserted, confused, chaos (cf. *rau*).
- rang**, the body of a man (26), a dead body of a man; a skeleton; a bird's nest (Sh. *hang*, 4c); the castor-oil tree; a tail (Sh. *hang*, 10), an image, form (Sh. *hang*, 30, appearance, form), to cause to be laid, to establish (Sh. *hang*, 30, to construct); to raise the floor of a house; *rang-lau*, to consult, *rang-ing*, the waist, *ṇa-rang*, a kind of grass (Assamese, *hāṛkatā hau*).
- rāng**, a palace with a raised platform (Assamese, *hāicng*, cf. *uang*), a creek, a canal (Sh. *hāng*, 3c), to raise, uphold (Sh. *hāng*, 3c, to hold up) (3, 39), to call out (Sh. *hāng*, 5c), *rāng-hau*, to shout loudly; *rāng-ngā*, tusked (of an elephant) (43). *ṇa-rāng*, a virtuous act.
- rap**, to carry on the shoulder (Sh. *hap*, 20), to show eagerness (cf. Sh. *hap*, 5c, to go to meet).
- rāp**, to encircle, surround (Sh. *hāp*, 3c) (3, 42), to bind, join together, link (15), *ai-rāp-dau-nang*, to take and keep, to make a servant, *chī-rāp-chāp-l-hāp-bar*, a finger-ring.
- rat**, to pull down with a noose, to become sticky
- rāt**, to be severed, to milk, to remove or press out the entrails (of fish, etc.).
- rau** or **raw**, we (Sh. *haw*, 4c) (36, 37), poor (cf. *rau*), the air, atmosphere (14, 15), the sky; in the air, unsupported, a louse (Sh. *haw*, 1c, cf. *rai*); heat (cf. *rān*), a rib, a hand-rail (Sh. *haw*, 40, a balustrade), a sleep, a nap (cf. Sh. *haw*, 10, a yawn), to lose (cf. *rai*); the dry season (Sh. *haw*, 30, to become dry); to abandon (cf. *rai*).
- rāum**, to take for certain, to consider as settled.
- raw**, see *rau*.
- re**, the umbilical cord (Sh. *hc*, 20), to rape; to speak ill of another; (according to Hodgson) what?.

ri, a temple, long, not short (Sh *hi*, 4c), to make, to be agitated, lonely

rik or **rik** (pronounced *rik*), a march, relation, a relative, a cause (Sh *hik*, 3c, a prime motive of an action) to rill (Sh *hik*, 3m) *im-ri tai*, relations and playmates, friends *rik-tang*, to cause religious ceremony to be performed

rim (pronounced *rim*), a border (Sh *hi*, 4c)

rin (pronounced *rin*) a stone (Sh *hin*, 1c) a flea (Sh *hin* 5c a sandfly) a lique to induce *im-shum* sulphate of copper blue vitriol

ring or **ring** (pronounced *ring*) a thousand (Sh *hug*, 1m) (4), 9) a list to strike with a stick

rip (pronounced *rip*) a hail-stone (cf *rit*) to press (cf *rit*) (cf Sh *hep* 2c to pinch) *rip-rip* a tick (the insect)

rit (pronounced *rit*) a hail a hail-stone (cf *rip*) to press, to extort by pressure (cf *rip*)

riw, a burial-ground to be splashed to take by force to carry anything suspended by a string (Sh *huc*, 3c) to uproot

ro, a certain measure of paddy (a *puo* or 15 seers) a small package, a bundle (Sh *lo* 2c) a stalk of paddy the shot of a fire from the patent trunk in offshoot, to hoot forth (cf *rum*) (31) weak and stunted in growth to grow to boast

ro, see *ri*

roi to ask for something to get marks or scars on the body (Sh *hoi*, 4c, a mark) See *ro*

roih (pronounced *roi*) to yoke a pig a sharp point a mark (Sh *hoi*, 4c) marks on the body See *roi*

rū or **rō** (pronounced *ro*), the head (Sh *huu* 1c) (17) before a hole (Sh *hu* 4c) a unit *rua* a load carried by two persons a bunch (of fruit, etc) the stump of a tree a hedge (Sh *huu*, 4c) knowledge, to know (Sh *hu* 3c) (cf *ruu*) (8, 11, 36, 41, 51) to leak (Sh *huu*, 3c) perspiration *no-ro* on the head, against *th-m-lham-ro* to enquire *ru-mung* the north (44) *tu-ru-pāk*, a blunder, mistake *ngik-ru-shi*, to strike the head against something

ruk, a kind of bamboo (Sh *huk*, 40), to pass the time by doing some

unimportant work, transplanted paddy seedlings a disease of the teeth, toothache, the number 6 (Sh. *huk*, 40)

ruk, uneven, undulating a border, to tickle a person under the armpits.

rum a scheme, a crafty scheme, a knot in wood to trample upon, to cover, a cover (Sh *hum*, 20), to fill the ground

rūn (pronounced *run*), to cry, weep (Sh *hun*, 5c, to call out), to grow, shoot out, an offshoot (Sh *hun*, 3c) (cf *re*) to scrape to be squeezed, to shrink (Sh *hun*, 3c, to be wrinkled up, is a garment) *rum-pu* bring-out-become, to weave (of a spider) (36)

run, a house (Sh *hun* 40)

ruñ (pronounced *ru*), a hill-stream (cf Sh *h* 30, a rivine) a long, broad hollow in which water collects during the rains

rung a wave, billow, a bunch addily (Sh *hung* 40, an era of rain) to boil (Sh *hung*, 1c, to cook) to put as cargo into a boat to be to shine (Sh *hung*, 3c) (9, 36) *rupa* (Hudson) *nam-blāk-rung* the water of the Ganges, *pu-rung* spring yielding to pressure.

rung, a place with raised platform (cf *ring* Assamese *larung*) late (Sh *hung*, 10, to hold off, as the rains when due) a long time, many days (Sh *hung*, 1c, to be long in time)

rup, a handful, a fist (cf Sh *hup*, 3c, to gather together) *rup-rip*, a tick

rūt (pronounced *rut*), a sty on the eye, a bamboo tray to pull or tighten a rope (Sh *hut*, 5c) to be agitated (of water) (Sh *hut*, 40, to throw water)

rūt malice, enmity to be at a distance

ruw a boat (Sh *lu*, 40) to know (cf *ru*) (37)

sha or **sha** a slipper a single bamboo used as a ladder in climbing trees (Sh *ha* 4c) well-being (Sh *ha*, 2c, to be comfortable) to try, to remain to spread to make noise, good-looking other sorrow, *sha-tha* good and evil (Sk. *śubhasubha*), *sha-rum*, a sugar-cane mill, *shā-na*, to make an offering

shai, the entrails of a fish to press, a thread, a rope (Sh *hsai*, 10) (45). sand (Sh *hsai*, 40), to rinse a pot

(Sh *hsai*, 20), to push, to liquidate debt (Sh *hsai*, 30) the appearance of a rainbow in the east, over-ripe, far, *shai-nu*, distant *hi-shai*, how far?, *shu-i-lung-mu*, thread-god - count a thread of it, the *Vayus* (48, 50) *pin-mang-shai*, an abscess

shak, the pestle of a rice husking pedal (Sh *hsak* 20 a pestle) a washerman (Sh *hsak* 50 to wash by beating) a mat pupure to husk paddy to thrust a pointed instrument to come near be near (24), a place the proper place for anything (20) a crowd multitude (22) bright, brilliant (47)

shak, the elbow (Sh *hsak* 20 a cubit) a censure to rebuke to sharpen a corner

sham, the number 3 (Sh *hsam* 10) three a woman who is not preferred by her husband to ask for a man (cf Sh *hsam* a to repeat) to give weight press to be dejected (Sh *hsam*, 40) good

sham, things sufficient for one meal no-frugality (Sh *hsam*, 40) not pure, vile (Sh *hsam* 40) to collect to supply regularly to transplant paddy seedlings (Sh *hsam* 30) green (cf Sh *hsam* 20 to be blue)

shan a riddle to shake (Sh *hsan*, 20) to be scattered to throw off *shin-the*, a goddess (Skr *matr*, the divine mother) *pin-shan* a widower *pin-shi* to be in doubt

shan, cotton a kind of fish-trap a dress pregnant to touch, to cause to learn (*han* 10 to learn) (cf *shau*) to use a *ju* (a bamboo scoop used in catching fish) in water to catch fish (Sh *han-pu* 30, 10) to apply the weight of the body to take a handful out of a heap to bring to terms and catch hold of *biak-lam-shai* a mungold

shang, a god, a spirit (Sh *hsang*, 10, a Brahmi) (23 23) misery to give information, instruct (Sh *hsang*, 20) (cf *shun*) to know to stretch out the hands if (Sh *hsang*, 10) (with *chang* in apodosis) (25) a negative particle (46) *sh ng-ba*, if *ka-shang*, what how many? *shang-bung*, a blackboard (used as a slate for writing on)

shang, a piece of pointed bamboo for digging earth (cf *shung*), a cage (Sh

hsung, 40, a kind of basket) to glitter (Sh *hsung*, 20) to illuminate, give out light (9, 10, the number 2 (Sh *hsung*, 10) a white ant

shap, the edge of water to learn to speak

shap, brimful, to play false, tricks and falsehoods

shat, a rod (Sh *hsat*, 30, to strike) to collect (Sh *hsat*, 30, to be crowded)

shat to burn, to spread, be noised abroad

shau or **shaw** (often written *shaw*), a young unmarried woman (Sh *hsaw*, 10) a post, pillar, prop (Sh *hsaw*, 10) (10) the number 20 (Sh *hsaw* 40) to punt a boat to remain in one place, stop tarry, dwell (Sh *hsaw* 40) (14 42, 43, 53) to shampoo the body to relieve pain, to moisten to be mouldy, *bang-shai*, a bulot *ni g-shau*, an adult elder sister

shau to take away transparent, clear (Sh *hsau* 10) to enter (Sh *hsau*, 20 to insert) (cf *khan*) *shau hung* (pronounced *hang*), to use make use of *shau lin* a kind of play (Assamese, *qutlata* *lh da*) *hit-shau* a reproach See *shau*

shaum to pin a patch *shaum-jo*, not to think, to be without anxiety

she, to pin to pierce (Sh *hse*, 20, to thrust in) a kind of hoe to unloosen a bar attached to something (cf Sh *hse* 30, a bolt, a crossbar), to eruptate to excite *na-bang-she*, a kind of sh up dried grass (Assamese, *madu i ban*)

shi, the number 4, four in number (Sh *hsi*, 20) (45) the tooth of a rake (Sh *hsi* 30) to fill up, be full 7) to break to rub mud on the body (by a child) (cf Sh *hsi* 10, to rub) a suffix giving a participial force to a word used as a verb a particle optionally added to the imperative *shi-lung* (pr - *kleng*), hit *shi-dai*, break-get, to be destroyed (21) *bing-shi-la*, be roar, a calculus concretion found in the intestines of certain ruminant animals *lum-shi* a sh up pain in the heart *ngai-shi*, to separate a pair, *ngik-iu-shi*, to strike the head against something.

shik, shk (pronounced *shik*), a dirty place, a place where rubbish is thrown; a slice (Sh. *hask*, 2c, to tear); to lose one's good looks

shin (pronounced *shin*), a female's undercloth, a petticoat (Sh. *hsin*, 3c), one shot (of a gun), tribute; censure, virtue (Sh. *hsin*, 1c, a religious duty), to uproot.

shiñ (pronounced *shen*), a *lākh*, one hundred thousand (Sh. *hsñ*, 10) (11, 51, 60); very good, very important (28, 29, 33, 47), to shout (Sh. *hsñ*, 20), over-sunned (of rice) (Sh. *hsñ*, 10).

shing or **shing** (pronounced *shing*), the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī, voice, sound, a word, to speak (Sh. *hsang*, 1m) (16, 20), to clear, to rub gently with the hand, to stroke. (pr. *sheng*) a ray of light

ship (pronounced *ship*), the number 10 (Sh. *hsip*, 4c), to transfix, impale (Sh. *hsip*, 2m), *hā-ship*, filthy, *ship-pit* (pr. *-pet*), eighteen.

shit (pronounced *shit*), a promise, the jute-plant, to deliver, tree, *shit-chū*, to promise

shiw (pronounced *shiu*, amv), a chase (Sh. *hsu*, 2c), to catch hold of, hold (3), to proceed lying on the back, as a boat.

shiw (pronounced *shiu*), pointed, to dry paddy by applying heat.

sho, to bake earthen vessels to harden them, a complainant; to complain, a complaint, *sho-ham*, a complaint

shoi, a long pole with a hook at the end used for seizing and pulling anything (cf. *shoiñ*), betel-pepper, immature jack-fruit, a kind of ornament: to cut into small pieces (Sh. *hsai*, 4c, to slice)

shoiñ (pronounced *shoi*), the hair on the neck, a mane; a stirrup, to poke with the finger, to pull something with a hooked stick (cf. *shoi*); a side, to shake with a stick.

shā, a tiger (Sh. *hsu*, 10), a piece of cloth spread under a seat (Sh. *hsu*, 20, to spread a mat); a coat; gift, arrival (Sh. *hsā*, 2c), gain; straight (Sh. *hsu*, 3c) (cf. *shūw*); to be successful, to feel sorrow; to come to terms, consent, acknowledge allegiance, a wish, to wish; *jan-shū*, to ask that, to ask a person to do a thing, *ku-shū*, a keeper, one who keeps; *'am-shū-lā*, a crocodile; *nam-shū-lā*, a shark.

shūk (pronounced *shuk*), to ripen (Sh. *hsuk*, 4c), to wash (Sh. *hsuk*, 3c); to sit, to boil; to learn to walk.

shūk, fighting, a battle (Sh. *hsūk*, 4c); to sleep after moving to the head end of a bed.

shūm (pronounced *shum*), sour (Sh. *hsun*, 30), to throw a kind of basket (*pala*) to catch fish (Sh. *hsun*, 2c); a fishing instrument (Assamese, *juluki*); to go away by force; to solder, *ren-shum*, sulphate of copper, blue vitriol.

shūn (pronounced *shun*), a hedge (Sh. *hsun*, 10, an enclosure for cultivation), the ground round a house, a high place, to trip and fall prostrate (Sh. *hsun*, 40); to patch a cloth with thread, to return.

shūn, a garden (Sh. *hsun*, 10) (pronounced *shun*), money saved up from a long time (cf. Sh. *hsun*, 4c, time passed) (pronounced *shun*).

shūñ (pronounced *shun*), tribute; oblique, slanting, to envy, cloudy

shūng (pronounced *shung*), high (Sh. *hsung*, 1c), to supply regularly (Sh. *hsung*, 4c, to employ), to be born, a thriving man, a piece of bamboo for digging a hole (cf. *shūng*), to take away (Sh. *hsung*, 20, to convey), *lā-shung*, true

shung, an outside sitting-room (Sh. *hsung*, 2c, a shed), a gem (Sh. *hsung*, 10), to hide (Sh. *hsung*, 20), mind

shūp (pronounced *shup*), the mouth (Sh. *hsup*, 40) (27), to raise, to separate the coarse from the fine, as of grain, etc., by shaking in a basket, *shup-mā*, to be silent.

shup, to rest.

shūt (pronounced *shut*), a curtain (Sh. *hsut*, 4c), to be ended (Sh. *hsut*, 4c), sufficiency

shuw, you (Sh. *hsū*, 1c), to proceed forward slowly in darkness, feeling the ground with the feet, even, level, straight (Sh. *hsuw*, 3c) (2, 39) (cf. *shū*), *shuw-nuk*, a stitch in sewing; *shuu-lau*, a kind of rake (Assamese, *sur-puthā*)

tā, to feel, *kā-lan-tā*, to begin to feel fear

tā, the eye (Sh. *tā*, 1c); a tooth; a bathing-place on a river bank (Sh. *tā*, 3c, a landing-place); a box; to sow; to rub oil, anoint (Sh. *tā*, 4c, to smear), to think; to amuse or play with a child; good, fine,

- excellent. *phū-a-ta-a*, God, *mlun-ta*, to open the eyes (19)
- tai**, an Āhom (Sh 4c, a Shan), to move on all fours, to creep (cf Sh 2c, to move along), to die (Sh 10), near (Sh 30, border, side, space near), an associate, companion, *po-tai*, to kill, *ta-i-am*, to draggle at the heels (like the end of a waist-cloth), *ta-i-ho*, a man fit to be dead and gone in youth (a term of abuse), *ta-i-tik* (another term of abuse), *ta-i-lik* (another) *lam-ril-tai*, a friend *kham-tai*, a kite (the bird) a slave
- tak**, a snail a word (29) to occur, become to dry, to click with the tongue against the palate merely to consider *tal-lu-tal-pang* to be spent, expended *tal-pang*, to become ruined, *tal-'ip tak*, to fall into destitution *chang-il*, then (30, 38)
- tak**, a rattan (Sh 2c a strip of bamboo) a balance, to help to measure (cf *tik*) to be woven a numeral auxiliary used with money
- tam**, intention, will (50), low, not high (Sh 2c, to bend down) to thump pound (Sh 1c) to dig along the ground to burn (Sh 10, to push fuel into the fire) a place (Sh 10n, 4c) *luk-tam*, from *tam noi*, from this thereon *tam nuu*, place - above, on (42, 44) In 1, the word which I have transliterated *tam* means 'upon' Possibly it is for *tam-nuu*, but the word is not clear in the original In 52 *tamng* is for *tam-tang*, place - all everywhere
- tam**, to assemble, crowd to, ether (Sh 1c) to be thirsty to seek company.
- tamng**, for *tam-tang*, place-all, everywhere (52)
- tan**, pleasure a pole eight cubits in length, a line, a long mark (Sh 40), another place, elsewhere (Sh 4c, a place) speechless, pulling to call (Sh 30, to speak), to fill up a hole (Sh 1c, to be solid)
- tan**, a town, affection, excellent (cf Sh 4c, to exceed), a bundle of sticks a piece (cf Sh 3c, to be short), produced, born
- tañ**, to put on a turban, to walk with a torch, anything that gives pain to the body, a thorn in the flesh, *tañ* (pronounced *tañ*)-*ia*, of the same family
- tañ**, to touch or strike with the hand, to be wroth, a true or honest man
- tang**, a road (Sh 40), an enclosure, dew, a stool (Sh 2c) an anvil (Sh 3c), all, the whole (Sh 4c) (8 *bv*, 9, 11 *bv*, 12 *bv*, 60), the *solah* plant (Sh 30, a kind of oak-tree), birdlime (Sh 1c, viscous), to consult, separate (Sh 20, other), from, with (Sh 4c, with), in company with, by means of, to put, place, *tang-lai*, *tang-ka tang-ka*, all (7, 20, 61), *iamng*, for *tam-tang*, place-all, everywhere (52), *nung-tang*, to place, put on (clothes), *ruk-tang*, to cause a religious ceremony to be performed *bing-tang-tut*, the mason wasp (*Sphix isatura*)
- tang**, a plank brass (Sh 4c, copper), a water-pot (Sh 3c, to pour water upon), the belly (Sh 5c) (28, 33), to consider (Sh 4c, to recollect), to attend to (Assamese, *tang karā*), to give a blow, strike (Sh 3c, to beat), to lock up to push, shove, *nam-tāng*, a water-pot
- tap**, to beat with a hammer (Sh 20, to rip) to lessen the liver (Sh 4c)
- tap**, to be dented, depressed to darn, to pitch
- tat** to cut thatching grass to put in the sun to transplant to fall upside down to split into thin strips (as a bamboo)
- tāt**, to peck (Sh 2c, to strike, as a serpent in biting) to cast into water and drag out (as a net) (Sh 3c, to throw down into) to throw off, to ratten
- tau**, a gourd (Assamese, *tau*) (Sh 3c) a stick (Sh 5c, to support oneself with a stick), a tortoise (Sh 2c), ashes (Sh 3c) a line a mark, to arrive at a place (Sh 3c to come), a bone
- tau**, the heart a wish devotion, austerities, moss (Sh *tau*, 4c) to wash for gold (Sh *tau*, 40) to melt iron a smith's bellows, down, not up, at the bottom of, below (Sh 3c) (1, 2, 39), land, earth, as distinguished from heaven (20), *ka-tau*, below, *tau-phā*, earth and heaven, the universe, *tau-lang*, glass, *tau-chau*, to fast, *tau-yu*, to converse, speak mutually, to bless
- taum**, to write (cf *tau*), to aim, direct, point
- tauw** (pronounced *tau*), a fault.

- tāw**, a conical ball of thread, a wart on a tree.
- te**, truth, a dam (Sh. 40, a long elevation), to throw a clod or stone at anything or anyone, to set up, establish, be established, be, *te-jau*, was verily (7, 13, 20, 26, 41, 44, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60), *te-koi*, was verily (51), *te-ti*, to throw the shuttle from side to side in weaving.
- tha** or **thā**, a sofa with boxes underneath, to shave (Sh. *thā*, 1c), to wait (Sh. *tha*, 3c) (34), *sha-tha*, good and evil (skr. *subhāśubhā*)
- thai**, a ploughshare (Sh. 1c, to plough), to change one's clothes (Sh. 2c, to exchange old for new), to put on a cloth wrapper, to pull out with force, caused to be abused by a female slave, *thai-mai*, a Muluk (a man of the tribe of that name)
- thak**, to be cut by a razor, to cut with a *dao*, to hew (Sh. 20), *lak-thak*, prior, before
- thak**, to empty, to be aslant
- tham**, a chasm (Sh. 1c, a cave) full (cf. *tim*) to ask, enquire (Sh. 10) (35), *tham-kham-nuu* (or -*no*), to enquire, *tham-'a-mu*, a plough.
- tham**, to hear (Sh. 2c).
- than**, a cowshed enclosed with planks (Sh. 30, a stable) a cloth saddle, a live coal (Sh. 20, coal), a *thān* (or roll) of cloth
- thān**, to give a sudden pull or jerk (Sh. 1c, to pull out), to strip feathers, pluck, to suffice.
- thān** (pronounced *thas*), to open, to change leaves (as a tier).
- thān** or **thoñ** (pronounced *thoi*), backbiting to ask a question
- thang**, a hole in the ground (Sh. 10), an iron instrument for digging, a spring, a slice, a bit, to attain an object
- thang**, to poke at, to tuck in one end of a waist-cloth behind, to bend by pressing, to congeal, to come near, approach, to destroy by trampling (cf. Sh. 4, to pound).
- thap**, a shell, layer, stratum, to flow in drops, to make a patchwork, quilt of rags, to throw mud, to be besmeared with mud, to pounce down upon
- that**, to startle, to unloose forcibly, to be rent asunder.
- thau** or **thaw**, old, aged (Sh. 30, to be old, aged), a creeper (the plant); in a row or line (cf. *thiw*), *thau-man*, an arbitrator amongst the people of the Kachari tribe. See *thaw*.
- thaum**, to fill, to fling.
- thaw**, in *thau-khiw*, a certain tree (Assamese, *lātārun gachh*). See *thau*.
- the**, to cut (as meat or fish) (cf. Sh. *thu*, 10, to slice), *han-the*, a goddess, see *shan*.
- thi**, a flower- or leaf-bud (cf. *thiw*), a bamboo fish-trap, thick.
- thik** (pronounced *thik*), to tear with a lancet
- thīn** (pronounced *thim*), a throne (56, 57), to punish.
- thing** (pronounced *thung*), a field, a kind of ornament worn on the neck, a thin plank, to alter one's speech.
- thip** (pronounced *thip*), to kick (Sh. 2c) (cf. *thiw*)
- thiw**, a strong, good-looking person; to smooth from one end to the other, to kick (Sh. 2c) (cf. *thip*), to whistle, in a line or row (Sh. 10) (cf. *thau*), *thiu-ban*, a bud (cf. *thi*), *khum-thiu-khum*, the name of a god.
- tho**, see *thuo*
- thoi**, secret, to pull off, to ask, to torture, to liquidate (a debt)
- thoñ**, see *thān*.
- thū**, pulse, beans, a roasting-spit, to touch (cf. Sh. 1c, to rub against).
- thuk**, to come in contact, having no companion, exact.
- thuk**, a male (used as a suffix denoting the masculine gender) (43), to touch the bank of a river, to come in contact with, to arrive at, *thuk-chang*, a male elephant (43).
- thūm** (pronounced *thum*), a bag, a small bag (cf. *thūng*), hot, to sink (Sh. 30, to submerge), a piece of fish
- thūn** or **thun**, a plough, to plough (Sh. *thun*, 20, a harrow), lime (Sh. *thun*, 1c), full of, complete, to fill (62)
- thun**, see *thūn*, a forest (Sh. 20); the bottom of a sleeping platform; *mah-phut-thun*, a certain plant (Assamese, *dighalati gachh*)
- thūñ** (pronounced *thui*), to uproot; very.
- thūng** (pronounced *thung*), a wallet, a bag (Sh. 10, cf. *thūm*), to close the fist.

- thung**, to arrive at (Sh. 1c); quick-ness (Sh. *thing*, 4c, is 'to be slow'), *ma-thung*, to arrive.
- thup**, to overtake a person, to join his company.
- thüt**, near.
- thüw**, a turner's lathe; to imagine; to put in proper order.
- thwo** or **tho**, to push with a stick (Sh. *tho*, 1c, to propel by pushing); a punting pole; a song sung by two persons (Sh. *tho*, 3c, to sing alternately as a man and woman, or as people and priest at a monastery on worship day).
- tī**, a place (Sh. 3c) (59, 63); to peep through; particle indicating the dative case, and the future tense (Northern Sh. 4c); to stand up; *tī-nas*, place this, now, here; *tī-pun*, the world; *lāng-tī*, to wager, bet, *te-tī*, to throw the shuttle from side to side in weaving.
- tik** or **tik** (pronounced *tuk*), to have a hole, be perforated (Sh. *tik*, 2c, to be split), to measure land (cf. *tāh*) (Sh. *tik*, 3c, to measure); to push; to get torn (cf. Sh. *tik*, 2c); to assemble, to hide; *ta-tuk*, a certain term of abuse.
- tīm** (pronounced *tun*), to write (cf. *taim*) (Sh. *tīm*, 3c), to fill (Sh. *tīm*, 1m, be full) (cf. *tham*); to happen, come to pass, to suck.
- tin** or **tin** (pronounced *tun*), a foot (Sh. *tun*, 1c); to jump (Sh. *tin*, 3m, to move actively), to act rashly.
- tiñ** (pronounced *ten*), a moth (cf. Sh. 1c, a small kind of hornet); a road (Sh. 3c, a ridge of earth; *tiñ-lang*, 3c, 4c, a raised road); a slight notice, a clue.
- ting** or **ting** (pronounced *tung*), a lute, a harp (Sh. 2c); morality (*niti*); a cucumber (Sh. 1c); to strike with the fist (Sh. 5m, to strike); to put a cold application on the head when ill (cf. Sh. 2m, to carry on the head); to thrust (Sh. 4c); to weed.
- tip** (pronounced *tip*), to press, compress; to retreat; to give up drinking, become a teetotaler.
- tīt** (pronounced *tīt*), to conceal (Sh. *tīt*, 2m); to assemble, come together; (pronounced *tēt*) there; *tīt*- (pr. *tēt*-) *nam*, to draw water.
- tiw**, to be bent; to suckle.
- to**, to fight (Sh. *tō*, 2c); a boundary; a hornet (Sh. *tō*, 2c); the heald or heddle of a loom (cf. Sh. *tō*, 4c, to weave); a copy, the stump of a tree (Sh. *tō*, 1c); a 'one, only (39, 58); to do; a bush; now, present time (Sh. *tō*, 3c); *to-lah*, nevertheless; *to-phī*, a whirlpool, *khan-to*, solitary and alone (14, 27), but *khan to*, only by his word (39), quickly alone (58); *klāng-to*, only (4, 63); *bāng-to*, laborious.
- toi**, ambrosia; to squeeze with the finger.
- tra**, a rupee.
- tū**, a door (Sh. 1c); an animal, a body (cf. *tuw*) (Sh. *tuw*, 1c) (54), a hole; a temple official (Laos, *tu*, 5c, a priest); to catch, seize; to fall (cf. *tuk*), to see (Sh. *tūñ*, 4c); a numeral particle used in counting animals, *tū-chung*, a ram, *tū-rū-pāk*, a blunder, mistake; *nuk-tū*, a dove; *tū-ngī*, a deer.
- tūk** (pronounced *tuk*), to fall (cf. *tū*) (Sh. *tuk*, 4c); to become putrid (of a dead animal) (cf. *tuk*) (Sh. *tū*, 2c); fatigue, to blow a horn, sound a trumpet (cf. *tūt*); *ban-tuk*, sunset.
- tuk**, a mole (the animal); satisfaction, pleasure, to putrify (cf. *tūk*); a cloth girdle; a buffalo plough.
- tūm** (pronounced *tum*), mud, a flower-bud (Sh. *tum*, 2c); the anus, a fish-trap (Sh. *tum*, 3c), to fascinate; to boil food without seasoning (cf. Sh. *tum*, 3c, to boil).
- tūn** (pronounced *tun*), a tree (Sh. *tun*, 3c); origin (Sh. *tun*, 3c, a beginning); family, race, lineage (cf. Sh. *tun*, 4c); to return, turn back; *tūn-khrung*, a castor-oil tree; *khaui-tūn*, fine husked unbroken rice.
- tūn**, liveliness, sensation, intelligence; to be torn (of a cloth); to sit down; to be agitated, to start (Sh. 2c, to be frightened), after that, afterwards; to try, make efforts; to assume shape (18), *tun-tūn*, afterwards (18, 64).
- tūñ** (pronounced *tūñ*), a tuskless male elephant, a kind of basket cover (Sh. 1c, a cover made of the leaves of the screw-pine); impotent, a hermaphrodite (Sh. 4c, a hermaphrodite); *mū-tūñ* (pr. *-tu*), to reconcile.
- tūng** (pronounced *tung*), a plain (Sh. 3c, a rice-plain); a kingdom; a kind of bamboo fish-trap; to gather one end of a cloth into a bag to receive something; to be restless (Sh. 5c, to be unstable); to coax,

- allure (Assamese, *tung - tungā*) ;
 praised by one's mother.
tūng, a pool of water (Sh. 4c, a deep
 place in a body of water) ; an ass
 (cf. Sh. 1c, a wild ox) ; public diffi-
 culty, a general calamity affecting a
 whole country ; to be awake (Sh.
tūn, 2c).
tūp (pronounced *tup*), the gable end of
 a house (Assamese *tup*, Sh. *tup*,
 3c) ; to flap the wings (Sh. *tup-pak*,
 4o, 2c) ; to wash cloth ; to bend (cf.
 Sh. *tup*, 5o, to fold double).
tüp, to stamp with the foot (Sh. 3c).
tüt (pronounced *tut*), to blow a horn,
 sound a trumpet (cf. *tük*).
tüt, to break wind (Sh. *tut*, 4o) ; *bing-
 tang-tüt*, the mason wasp (*Sphinx
 asiatica*).
tüw, a dwarf ; ignorant ; an animal
 (3, 50) (cf. *tü*) ; *tüw-bā*, but ; *tüw-
 'ān*, a boy ; *tüw-ngi* (cf. *tü*), a deer ;
phā-tüw-chung, the Supreme Deity,
 God Almighty (27, 34, 38, 53).

X.

SIAMESE ARCHÆOLOGY:

A SYNOPTICAL SKETCH.

BY COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M R.A.S.

The Indian Influence.

FROM several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-China from, respectively, Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the peninsula by land through Burmā and its southern coasts by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations. Brahmanism and, later on, Buddhism (third century B.C.), with most other achievements of Indian culture, followed in the wake of these pioneers; and thus it is to ancient India that Indo-China owes her early civilization. By the dawn of the Christian era, as I have elsewhere demonstrated, Buddhism had already gained a firm foothold on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula near the head of the Gulf of Siām, whence it advanced and soon spread all over the country of the Mě-Nam Delta. On the other hand, Brahmanism had established itself in Central and Northern Siām, where Swankhalôk and Sukhôthai formed its principal foci. It is not till about four centuries later that we begin to hear of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (*Dharmanagara*), or Ligor, as the chief centre of both Buddhism and Brahmanism on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; and to find both faiths—but more especially Buddhism—firmly established in the territory of Phrah Prathom in the present Nakhōn C'hai Śrī province, in the Mě-Nam Delta.

Siām's most ancient Cities.

By the sixth century A.D. no less than three cities had risen in Central Siām, to wit: 1, Swankhalôk (*Svargaloka* or *Sajjanālaya*, 95 B.C.); 2, Sukhōthai (*Sukhada*, *Sukhodaya*, *circa* 70 B.C.); and 3, Kamp'hēng-p'het (*Vajra-prākāra*, A.D. 457); and in the north, not far from the headwaters of the Mē-Nam, another one, Lamp'hūñ (*Haribhuñjaya*), which had just been founded (A.D. 527). The two first-named were alternately for the next eight centuries the capitals of the famous Swankhalôk-Sukhōthai State, which for so long held hegemony over Central Siām. The last one became the capital of the first Thai kingdom in the Mē-Nam valley, holding its own until A.D. 1281, when it was supplanted by the newly rising Lāu power that soon afterwards established its seat at C'hēng-Māi (A.D. 1296).

In Southern Siām we find at the same remote period the cities of Śrī Vijaya, on and about the site of the present P'hrah Prathom village; and the then but recently founded Lop'hburī (*Lavapura*, *Lavakoṭa*, or *Lohkoṭ*, A.D. 493), which was soon to become the chief centre of power for Southern Siām.

All these, conjointly with Ligor already referred to, are Siām's most ancient cities. Accordingly, it is on their sites and adjoining territory that the oldest monuments and about all that remains of Siāmes antiquities of that early period, are to be found.

EXTANT MONUMENTS.

In Northern and Central Siām.

The oldest of religious structures are to be found at Swankhalôk, in the shape of gloomy shrines and hermit cells, erected mostly on the tops and flanks of the hills, and carefully oriented according to the cardinal points. They are characterized by massive cyclopean walls, surmounted by gable roofs, all built of laterite blocks excavated

near by, and laid throughout in horizontal courses without any cement; their unique entrance, which faces the east, converging towards the top into a pointed, often lancet-shaped, arch. The style quite resembles that of the ancient Central and even Northern Indian temples, thus evidencing that their planning, and perhaps construction, was due, at least in part, to immigrants and settlers from those quarters. The shrine, apparently Śivaite, erected on the summit of the Laōng Samlī hill near the centre of Old Swankhalōk city is, no doubt, one of the most ancient of these structures, for it is made by tradition almost coeval with the foundation of the city itself (*circa* 95 B.C.).

Later on follow more elaborate creations, characterised by the same massive style of building, but embellished with portals (*gopuras*), railings, and symbolical decorations devoted to Brahmanic worship; and further, Buddhist spires and pagoda-shaped reliquaries, royal palaces and city walls, and smaller monuments, some of which are of an exceedingly graceful architecture, which may be seen in considerable numbers all over the sites of Old Swankhalōk, Sukhōthai, Kamp'hēng-p'het, and other ancient cities of Central and Northern Siām (such as, for instance, Biṣṇulōk, etc.).

The masterpiece of all, and withal the best preserved specimen, is, however, the spire of Wat P'hrah Prāṅg (*Prāṅgana*), at the south-eastern corner of Old Swankhalōk city, dating from the latter part of the eleventh century. Notable also is the Brahmanic temple of Śrī Swāi in Old Sukhōthai, with its three finely ornamented tapering domes, built somewhat after the style of the Angkor Wat and the Mī-buī shrine in Kamboja.

The material exclusively employed in the oldest monuments of Central and Northern Siām is laterite hewn into fair-sized blocks. Later on, but not before the eleventh century, this becomes associated with gray or greenish-gray sandstone, used for statues, doorways, railings, and decorative sculptures. A striking example of its employment in huge monoliths occurs in the gateways of the walled enclosure

surrounding Wat P'hrah Prāṅ at Old Swankhalók. From the twelfth century A.D. brickwork comes into evidence and soon prevails, forming in after ages the characteristic of Thai architecture, which elaborated and developed in brick, plaster, and mortar the old architectural motives just described.

In Southern Siām.

This being a deltaic country, where neither laterite nor other natural building materials are to be found except at the foot of the hills flanking both sides of the Me-Nam valley, lithic structures do not occur except on the eastern borders on the one side and in the province of Rājburī on the west, and then but very sparsely and in considerably diminutive sizes. The prevailing material is brick, and it is accordingly of this that we find the oldest monuments built; though not unfrequently coarse-textured sandstone—either yellowish or reddish, more rarely gray, in colour—occurs associated with it in terminals, wall-crests, stelæ (Wat Mahā Thāt [*Mahā-dhātu*] at Rājburī); in statues (gray, P'hrah Prathom); and even in square blocks (Wat Mahā Thāt at Lop'hburī).

The oldest monument of Southern Siām appears to be the original P'hrah Prathom (*Vara Prathama*) spire, now encased in a recently erected, and far more imposing one, of over 300 feet in height. Nearly coeval with it is the neighbouring P'hrah Thôn (*Vara Doṇa* or *Droṇa*) pagoda, also in brickwork (built A.D. 656). Then follow the remains of ancient temples at Lop'hburī, on the sites of which Buddhist Wats, dating from the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and later, afterwards arose; and the ruins of primitive hermitages, with débris of statues and stelæ, on the flanks of the Sabāb Hill near Chanthabūn (*Candana-pura*), a city dating itself from the eighth or ninth century A.D., if not earlier. At Ligor, Wat Nā P'hrah Thāt in the centre of the city, and Wat Mahēyong (*Mahiyangana*) on its outskirts, are undoubtedly very

ancient foundations; and ruins of considerable antiquity—never yet before this brought to the notice of the public—with statues of deities, etc., occur on the western side of the Malay Peninsula at the P'hrah Nārāi (*Nārāyaṇa*, i.e. Viṣṇu) Hill, on the upper course of the Takūa-pā (Takôpa) River. A thorough examination of the adjoining districts, as yet archæologically unexplored, is sure to reveal the existence of many more ancient remains.

All early structures in this region are in brick, the material generally resorted to all over the east coast of the Bay of Bengal as far north as Pegu, Arakan, and the delta of the Ganges.¹

The chief characteristic of the old monuments of Southern Siām is, besides the almost exclusive employment in them of brickwork, their more general Buddhist destination than in the north, where Brahmanism was the prevailing form of worship in the early days. Moreover, their style of architecture is, as may easily be inferred, more Southern Indian—i.e. Drāvidian—in type, thus most closely approaching that of later Kambojan monuments. Nowhere do we find, however, in Siām, whether north or south, any sublime creations equalling in grandeur and artistic perfection those of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom, which are, indeed, unique in that respect, not only in Indo-China or even Asia, but perhaps in the whole world.

Caves.

Limestone caves, many of which are stalactitic, abound in Southern Siām, especially in the Rājburī and P'hejburī (*Vajrapurī*) provinces; but nowhere more than on the Malay Peninsula. These, like those in Kamboja and Pegu, have been mostly utilised as Buddhist sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage; but beyond some decorations and

¹ But rare exceptions occur in the ancient buildings and city walls of early cities of Pegu, especially on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Martaban, where laterite has been to some extent employed. As regards hewn stone, only two buildings at Pagan are constructed with it, the quality being sandstone.

statues in either brick or plaster, they offer nothing remarkable in the way of architectural achievement, compared with, for instance, the rock-cut temples of Western India and even Ceylon or Burma. Buddhist clay tablets, bearing Sanskrit legends of the tenth and eleventh centuries, have been dug up in the caves to the north-east of Trang, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. They greatly resemble those from Pagān and Tagaung in Burma.

EPIGRAPHY.

Although no such fruitful harvest of ancient inscriptions has been gathered in Siām as in Kamboja and Champā—owing, no doubt, to the lack of thorough and systematic archaeological exploration—the petroglyphic monuments so far brought to light are of sufficient historical and palæographic importance to deserve more than a passing mention. Their chronological range extends, for the districts on the Malay Peninsula, as far back as the fifth century of the Christian era; while in Southern Siām it borders upon the sixth or seventh. No inscription has, strange to say, so far been discovered in either Central or Northern Siām earlier than the fourteenth century, i.e., than the period when Thai supremacy had already firmly established itself over the whole of the Me-Nam valley.¹

On the Malay Peninsula.

Leaving aside the already well-known inscriptions of Kedah and Province Wellesley (*circa* A.D. 400), and proceeding up the Peninsula, we feel bound to notice the Pāli and Sanskrit inscribed stelæ of the eighth century A.D. from Wat Mahēyong in the province of Ligor; a Pāli inscription on a brass plate from the Takūa-thùng district (*circa* ninth

¹ Ancient manuscripts are extremely scarce, and the oldest ones known are on palm-leaf and do not, as a rule, go back more than three centuries. No coins with inscriptions or monograms dating earlier than the fourteenth century have as yet come to light.

century A.D.); and, what will be welcome news to scholars, a petroglyphic monument of nearly the same age as those of Kedah and Province Wellesley, just discovered at Old Takūa-pā (Takôpa) within the precincts of Wat Nā-müang, in the middle of a former bed of the river.¹ This last find is of the highest importance, as evidencing that Indian influence had established itself, not merely at one or two isolated points on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, but practically over the whole length of that littoral, whence it crossed overland to the Gulf of Siām. It is, moreover, the oldest relic that has so far come out of the tract where, as I have elsewhere shown,² stood from the remotest age the mart and seaport of *Takōla* (Τάκωλα ἐμπόριον) or *Takkola*, mentioned both in Ptolemy and in the “*Milinda Pañha*.”

In Southern Siām.

In the country of the Mē-Nam Delta the earliest epigraphic records hitherto discovered are those in Pāli on terra-cotta tablets, dug out at P'hrah Prathom some fifty years ago (A.D. 1857). They contain the well-known Buddhist formula “*Yē dhammā*,” etc.; and the shape of the characters (of a Southern Indian type closely identical to the Veṅgī and Western Chālukya) argues their age to be the sixth or seventh century A.D.

Then follows a gap stretching down until the Khmēr inscription from Lop'hburī, which bears two dates corresponding to A.D. 1022 and 1025. At Chanthabūn, however, both Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions dating from the ninth and tenth centuries occur, as well as at Battambōng and in the province of Khôrāt, on the outskirts of the Kambojan epigraphical zone. These are all the records so far discovered of the age of Kambojan domination over Southern and Central Siām, which extended, with but few interruptions, from the middle of the seventh to that of the thirteenth century.

¹ See supplementary note with plate of this inscription in the appendix to the present paper.

² See this Journal for July, 1897, pp. 572, 573, and Table IV, No. 79.

The dawn of Thai Epigraphy.

The following period—that of independent Thai rule—is first marked by the Sukhōthai inscription of about A.D. 1300, this being the earliest epigraphic monument extant worded in the Thai language, and engraved in the Thai characters that had then just been invented. After this, Thai inscriptions become numerous in both Central and Northern Siām, as well as in Western Lāos (C'hieng-Māi); and we enter upon the phase of national Thai history centreing at first in Sukhōthai (A.D. 1257–1350) and then in Ayuthia (A.D. 1350–1767) as successive capitals.

Palæographic peculiarities.

Most of the inscriptions alluded to above are carved on finely grained sandstone slabs of either a gray or greenish-gray colour. At Old Swankhalōk and Sukhōthai dark-blue slate and phyllades have also been at times employed. Inscribed bricks and tiles are common on the Delta, as well as all over the Malay Peninsula, where also occur the stamped clay tablets bearing Buddhist images and inscriptions already referred to.

Until A.D. 1500 such epigraphic records as bear dates are invariably dated in the Śaka era (called *Mahā Śaka-rāj*), beginning A.D. 78, which has been the one in general use—until comparatively modern times, and with but rare and sporadic exceptions¹—all over Indo-China and the Archipelago. This fact, as I have elsewhere more fully pointed out,² proves the pretended foundation of the Chula

¹ Gupta era in Burmā (fifth century A.D.); also Buddhist era (from A.D. 1084 downwards), and Śakarāj (*Culla Śaka*) era at about the same period (from A.D. 1017 downwards). In Siām the Buddhist era occurs at times on purely religious inscriptions, but not before A.D. 1257, when it is but cursorily mentioned in the Thai inscription from Wat Si-C'hum at Old Sukhōthai. Its first direct employment is in the Pāli inscription on the model of Buddha's footprint from Sukhōthai (now in the former 'Second King's' temple, Bāngkōk), dated in the year 1970 from Buddha's Nivāna = A.D. 1426. In Kamboja the practice of dating documents, whether epigraphic or otherwise, in the Buddhist or Culla Śaka eras is even more recent, while the Mahā Śaka is still employed in historical literature.

² *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1900, pp. 375–376 and 379–381.

era (*Culla Śakarāj*) in A.D. 638 at Swankhalôk to be a pure myth absolutely unworthy of credence.

OTHER NOTICFABLE FEATURES IN CONNECTION WITH ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

In the Swankhalôk and Sukhôthai monuments from the eleventh century downwards, glazed tiles, statuettes, friezes, terminals, and other decorations in glazed pottery occur. A ceramic industry, turning out products in imitation of the crackled ware of the Chinese Sung dynasty, was started at Swankhalôk towards the close of the eleventh century.¹ Iron I found employed in the walls of Wat Si-C'hum (Old Sukhôthai), a temple dating from the end of the thirteenth century, and built of square blocks of gray sandstone carefully fitted and clamped inside. Bronze castings of considerable dimensions also begin to appear at about the same period, as well as Buddhist statuettes carved out of jade (very probably from the mines in Northern Burma), quartz (from the Khôrât plateau), alabaster (from either West Kamboja or Upper Burma), ivory, and other prized materials. More ancient, however, appears to be the establishment of the art of making niello ware at Ligor, where it soon attained a high degree of perfection.²

With the advent of brickwork structures, wood finds wide employment in buildings, where it is inserted into the masonry and utilised separately in the shape of pillars and supports for the roof, with great detriment to the solidity and durability of the constructions. On the other hand, however, its extended use gives an impetus to the art of wood-carving, which soon attains no mean excellence in ornamental pieces, but above all in door frames and panels, of which several highly finished specimens are still extant

¹ On these Swankhalôk wares see my articles in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902 (pp. 361-368), and October of the same year (pp. 391-395).

² See on this industry, as well as on the bronze castings of the period, my remarks in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1902, pp. 396-397 and 404-405.

(doors of the P'hrah Thên sanctuary at Thung-yang, and of Wat Suthat (*Sudassana*) at Bāngkōk, brought thither from Sukhōthai, both dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century). Later on this industry is superseded, especially in door and window panels, by the more modern one of lacquered, gilt, and mother-of-pearl inlaid work, of which perhaps the most perfect early specimen extant may be witnessed in the massive door panels of the P'hrah C'hinarāj (*Jinarāja*) sanctuary at Bīṣṇulōk (made in A.D. 1755 by order of the king then reigning at Ayuthia).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED TAKŪA-PĀ INSCRIPTION.

When, early in 1902, my friend Mr. H. W. Bourke, of the Royal Siāmesse Department of Mines, proceeded to take up his post of Superintendent of Mines for the Siāmesse provinces on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, establishing his headquarters at P'hūket (Junkceylon Island), I did my best to impress upon him, as if in duty bound—seeing his keen interest and favourable natural disposition for archæological research—the importance of a thorough investigation of any ancient remains, and above all of any epigraphic relics, he might hear of or come across in the course of his official *tournées* through the districts on that coast. I especially commended to his attention the littoral facing Junkceylon, viz., the districts of Takŭa-thùng and Takŭa-pā (Takôpa), near the latter of which I had been led, through my own researches, to locate the famous harbour and mart of *Takôla*, as I felt certain that important archæological finds would most likely reward the efforts of the explorer, owing to ancient Indian settlements which must have left behind some visible traces of their past existence having been there. So far, only one ancient inscription on a copper-plate had been discovered in that region, and precisely in

Takûa-thùng; but that was as long as forty years ago, and as the plate was fixed on the back of a little bronze statue of Buddha, it could not be positively held to have been engraved *in situ*.¹ Moreover, such districts had so far practically remained unexplored from an archæological point of view, while from Takûa - pā itself, whence one should expect the richest harvest in relics of the past, nothing had as yet been found to attest the presence of ancient remains.

The same recommendations I repeated later on to another friend of mine, Mr. C. Allegri, the Chief Engineer of the Royal Siamese Public Works Department, when he left towards the end of 1902 on an extended official tour through the same provinces of the Malay Peninsula.

Both these gentlemen have rendered valuable services to research by turning, so far as the pressure of their official duties would permit, their attention to these matters, and bravely devoting to the pursuit of exploration whatever leisure they could afford to spare.

Mr. Bourke, having got the start, was soon able to inform me of traces of ancient extensive mining operations, and of finds of neolithic implements and other prehistoric, as well as protohistoric, relics in various places situated lower down the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Of these, and of whatever else of interest he had occasion to notice then and in the course of his subsequent tours, it is to be hoped he will soon give an exhaustive account himself, which should prove extremely interesting, especially if accompanied by the numerous photographs which he, being an exceptionally accomplished amateur photographer, did not neglect to take.

Coming next to the Takôpa district, Mr. Bourke was fortunate enough to discover some important remains near the upper reaches of the river, and to ascertain the site of the old Takôpa town, which stood considerably farther upstream than the present modern settlement. Most important

¹ The plate (now preserved with the statue in the royal palace, Bāngkōk) is circular, in the form of a *cakra*, and the inscription in Pāli is a mere repetition of the famous *Yē dhammā* stanza, the characters being probably of the third century A.D.

of all, however, is perhaps the discovery of the inscribed stela that forms the subject of the present note. This was also examined by Mr. Allegri, from whom I obtained a sketch of its shape and dimensions, of which the one subjoined is a reproduction. It is a slab of finely textured sandstone, and was found in the middle of a former bed of the Takôpa river, close by a Buddhist monastery now known as *Wat Nâ Muang*, 'Monastery facing the town,' so called evidently from its occupying a site opposite the old town of Takôpa.

Mr. Bourke took a carefully executed squeezing of the inscription, which he forwarded to me. I had that face of the squeezing that had come into contact with the stone photographed, and had another photograph taken from the plate thus obtained. From the last the positive reproduced below was printed. The characters are, as will readily be seen, slightly modified forms of the fourth century Vengî, as represented in Burnell's "Elements of South Indian Palæography," second edition, plate 1; and also resemble in shape those of the Kedah inscription of about 400 A.D. deciphered and translated by Professor Kern.¹ The consonants 𑄀 (*h*), 𑄁 or 𑄂 (*r*), 𑄃 or 𑄄 (*t*), 𑄅 (*hr*), etc., are practically identical. But there are differences in some others, while the details of not a few letters and groups of letters show up far from clearly, especially the vowels *e*, *a*, and some of the consonants combined therewith, so that the reading is in many instances rendered difficult and very uncertain. These blemishes should be ascribed to the worn-out state of the stone rather than to unskilfulness on the part of the lapicide, who seems, on the contrary, to have performed his task with no mean ability, and turned out a work which compares favourably with the epigraphic productions of the same age in other parts of Indo-China.

Owing to the drawbacks just alluded to, several attempts I have made at decipherment have met with but very partial success. I have accordingly thought it expedient to forward the squeezing to my esteemed friend Professor Kern, of

¹ See "Essays relating to Indo-China," first series, vol. 1, p. 234 and pl. iv.

the Leiden University, the eminent specialist for such inscriptions, who will, I hope, be able to give a complete reading and translation, and in any case elucidate all that can fairly be made out in this inscription. I trust he will soon favour this Journal with the result of his investigations. Meanwhile, it appears to me pretty certain that the language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and not Pāli; and judging from the shape of the characters I should think that the document belongs chronologically to the fifth century A.D., and cannot, at all events, be later than the sixth or seventh.

Whatever its contents and purport (which latter appears to be Buddhist), I need not emphasize its archæological importance. As it was evidently engraved *in situ*, and not imported from abroad, it proves the existence in that neighbourhood of an ancient Indian settlement, which doubtless dated from the early centuries of the Christian era, if not, as is quite possible, from a still remoter period. It forms, moreover, a hitherto missing link in the chain of petroglyphic evidence connecting the lower provinces on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula with those adjoining the Kra Isthmus, and proving that the coast in question was dotted practically all the way with Indian settlements and colonies.

The remains of ancient shrines and three old statues of deities extant at the foot of the *Kháu P'hrah Nārāi* (the 'Hill of Nārāyaṇa' or Viṣṇu), three hours by boat further up the river from the site of the inscription above referred to, argue the former presence in that vicinity of some important settlement.¹ Still farther up-stream the anchors and débris of a sea-going vessel of respectable size, half buried in the sandy bottom of the old river-bed, were found

¹ As regards the considerable antiquity of the statues, I may mention that two gigantic trees, locally known as *Tôn Bè* (probably *Lagerstroemias*), have grown round the images, and so completely entolded them as to make their disentanglement and removal impossible unless the trees themselves are cut down to the root. It appears that the three statues were brought down to their present site from an old shrine which, according to local tradition, stood on the summit of the hill. No traces of such a structure have, however, so far, been discovered, owing doubtless to the thick jungle that covers the hill and hides the remains from view.

some fifty years ago at the place called *Thà Nà*, '[Paddy]-Fields Landing.' The spot where the ship in question lay embedded stands now well up above water-level. There can be no doubt from such indications, and from the site of Old Takôpa town so far up-stream, that its river was in the old days far deeper and more accessible to sea-going craft than at present; and that its actual shallowness and increased impracticability to navigation are well-nigh entirely due to the gradual rise of the land which has been going on all over the Malay Peninsula for many centuries past, and which appears to have amounted to no less than a hundred feet within historical times.

In so far as the Takôpa district is concerned, there is even nowadays a splendid harbour at the mouth of its river, of which my old friend Mr. Warrington Smyth, who visited it some nine years ago, and who is no superficial connoisseur in marine matters, says in his valuable book: "The harbour of Kopa [Takûa - pā] is a very fine one, consisting of a magnificent estuary protected from the sea by a series of islands, behind which vessels can lie in depths varying from four to seven fathoms. The chief entrance is to the north, round Kopa Head. The deep-water channel runs thence in a southerly direction for some twenty miles to the north of the Kopa River proper, where the local trading craft, which are, of course, never of very deep draft, lie in two fathoms, some fourteen miles below the town. . . . Kopa could at trifling cost be made the first harbour in Siām, and the port of the whole of this part of the peninsula. Neither Chantabun nor Sungkla [Singora] has the possibilities of Kopa, neither has such depth of water or such commodious anchorage, neither is so well situated with regard to foreign markets, and neither has such fine provinces at the back of it. . . . Takuapa as a harbour is, however, far superior [to Trang], and will take larger vessels than any other place, and its claims to be made the port of Lakawn [Ligor] should be seriously considered."¹

¹ "Five Years in Siam," London, 1898, vol. ii, pp. 24-25 and 128.

There can thus be no doubt that Takôpa (Takûa-pā) was in the early centuries of the Christian era a well-known harbour and trading centre often resorted to by ships coasting along the Golden Khersonese. My previous conclusions¹ are once more corroborated that either the Pāk-chān inlet, penetrating deep into the western flank of the Kra Isthmus, or Takôpa—perhaps more likely the latter—were Ptolemy's *Takôla* and withal the *Takkola* of the "Milinda Pañha." This last, as follows from the context of that well-known Buddhist work (vi, 21), lay outside the limits of *Suranṇabhūmi* (since this country is mentioned separately from it), i.e. the Gulf of Martaban, and cannot therefore be identified with the *Taik-kulā* on the Sitang river as suggested by preceding writers.

But the last has not as yet been heard about the Takôpa district and its harbour. Mr. Bourke is still pursuing his investigation as far as the very limited time at his disposal allows him; and there is good reason to hope that he may before long come across other remains, and discover more inscriptions, capable of throwing further light on the past history of so interesting a part of the Malay Peninsula, as yet but scarcely known to the Western world.

¹ See this Journal for July, 1897, pp. 572-573, and Table IV, No. 79. The question has been more fully dealt with in my forthcoming monograph on the Ptolemaic geography of Indo-China, now in the press. The alternative suggestion of the Pāk-chān inlet is justified from the fact of this estuary lying within the limits of the region of *Takûa* (*Takôla*), which includes the three districts now distinguished under the denominations of Takûa-thung (the southernmost, facing Junkceylon), Takûa-pā (the central one), and Takûa-thai (the northernmost, bordering upon the Pāk-chān inlet). Moreover, the rectified Ptolemaic data as regards the position of the mart of *Takôla* argue a site near the southern point of entrance to the Pāk-chān inlet, close by the present Ranōng, and therefore on Takûa-thai territory. (See the above-cited Table IV.)

XI.

KAUSAMBI.

BY MAJOR W. VOST, I.M.S.

ALTHOUGH the city of Kausāmbī is frequently mentioned in the Pāli and Hindu classics, few data are given therein from which its position can be accurately determined. We shall see as we proceed that the details given in these books, when read in conjunction with what we learn from Yuan Chwang, enable us to fix with tolerable accuracy, but not with absolute certainty as yet, the probable position of this famous city.

In the *Life*¹ of Yuan Chwang the kingdom of Prayāga is defined as situated "to the south of the Ganges, on the north of the River Jumnā." As the town of Allahabad is still known to the Hindus as Prayāga, we may conclude that the kingdom Prayāga corresponded to the easternmost part of the Ganges-Jamunā duāb. The capital of Prayāga, when Yuan Chwang was in India, lay "between two branches of the river,"² and we are told that to the east of the city "the two rivers join."³ We may assume, without perhaps being very far wrong, that the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā, which seem to be the two rivers indicated by the pilgrim, lay in close proximity to the modern town named Allahabad.

In giving measurements to the city of Kausāmbī, or to the border of the country of this name, Yuan Chwang does not clearly state whether his distances start from the capital of Prayāga, or from the junction of the Ganges and Jamunā, or from some point on the southern border of the kingdom of Prayāga, that is, from the bank of the Jamunā, but the

¹ Beal, p. 90.² Beal, i, p. 230.³ Beal: *Life*, p. 90.

impression conveyed to my mind is that his calculations of distance are taken from the junction of the Ganges and Jamunā rivers.

The information as to the position of the city of Kausāmbī, founded on this pilgrim's sojourn in India, is contained in the following passages:—

Records, I. "Going from this country [Jamunā river, the southern border of Prayāga] south-west, we enter a great forest Going 500 li or so, we come to the country [border of the country of] Kiau-shang-mi (Kausāmbī)." ¹

II. "To the south-west of the city [Kausāmbī] 8 or 9 li is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga To the north-east of the Nāga dwelling after going about 700 li we cross the Ganges, and going northward we arrive at the town of Kia-shi-po-lo (Kasapura)." ²

Note the bearing and distance, and that it is not stated that the Jamunā was crossed to reach Kasapura. This negative point is, perhaps, not of great weight.

Life, I. "From this, in a south-west direction, After going 500 li or so, we arrive at Kiau-shang-mi (Kausāmbī)." ³

The point of departure is not stated, nor is it recorded if the 500 li are to the border of the kingdom of Kausāmbī or to the city. If we decide that this passage is probably abridged from the corresponding paragraph given above in brief as the first extract from the *Records*, then we are in a position to assume that the 500 li are calculated from the "country" of Prayāga to the "country" of Kausāmbī; but we are not told the name of the tract of territory lying between the border of the district of Prayāga, that is, the Jamunā river, and the border of Kausāmbī.

II. "From the country of Prayāga [Jamunā river] he went south-west, for seven days, when he arrived at the kingdom of Kausāmbī." ⁴

"Kingdom," here, seems to be an error for "city."

¹ Beal, i, p. 234. ² Beal, i, p. 237. ³ Beal, p. 90. ⁴ Beal, p. 190.

III. After describing the monuments to the "south" of the city of Kausāmbī, it is recorded that, "Going about 500 li [Julien's version adds to the *east*] from this, we come to the kingdom of Pi-so-kia (Viśākhā)."¹ Certainly the bearing *east* should be read north-east, as in the *Records*. The distance, no doubt, is the same as the 500 li from the kingdom of Prayāga to the Kausāmbī border, as in the first quotation from the *Records*. It is, also, to be noted that the road-distance from Kaśapura to the border of the kingdom of Pi-so-kia is omitted in the *Life*.

From the comparison of these accounts, bearing in mind that the data in the *Life* are mostly abridged from the *Records*, we learn (1) that the distance was 500 li south-west from the "country," or border, of Prayāga, that is, from the right bank of the Jamunā river, to the "country," or border, of the Kausāmbī kingdom; (2) that we must suppose that 200 li, not recorded, represented the distance from the border of the Kausāmbī kingdom to Kausāmbī city, and that the distance of 500 li, to which the 200 li, inferred, require to be added, correspond to the (3) 700 li north-east, from a point 8 or 9 li south-west of Kausāmbī city, to the right bank of the Ganges river, probably to a ferry close to the east side of the junction of the Ganges and Jamunā rivers, as we are not told that the Jamunā river was also crossed to get to Kaśapura; (4) that Yuan Chwang probably retraced his steps 700 li "north-east" from Kausāmbī city to the Ganges bank along the same road by which he had travelled 700 li to the "south-west"; and (5) that Kausāmbī city should be found 700 li, or 92·54 English miles, by road from Yuan Chwang's starting-point, that is, at this distance to the south-west of Allahabad, which stands at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā rivers, or Kausāmbī, is to be sought, possibly, at the distance of 92·54 miles, either from the right bank of the Jamunā river due south of Allahabad, or possibly from some ferry on the Jamunā some way west of the confluence of these two rivers.

¹ Beal, p. 91.

Fa-hian gives us no assistance in fixing the position of the site of Kausāmbī city, and his description of the kingdom is very meagre. He writes:—"Proceeding north-west thirteen *yōjanas* from the park of the deer, [Sārnāth, to the north of Benares city] there is a country called Kausāmbī. There is a *viḥāra* there called Ghōshira-vana (*the garden of Ghōshira*), in which Buddha formerly dwelt; it is now in ruins."¹ Thirteen *yōjanas*, or 91·65 English miles, north-west would have taken the pilgrim into the Sultānpur District, and if "country" be supposed a mistake for "city," the ruins at Dhūtāpāpā² on the Gomatī river might be identified with the city of Kausāmbī. But as Fa-hian and Yuan Chwang both speak of the garden of Ghōshira,³ it is extremely likely that the bearing north-west to the Kausāmbī border is a mistake for south-west, and that the two pilgrims each allude to the same country Kausāmbī. Fa-hian's distance of 13 *yōjanas* is only of importance in telling us the position, I think, of the Kausāmbī border when proceeding, it seems, from Sārnāth. This information is not obtainable from any other source; the difficulty in interpreting the record is to know by which road he travelled and calculated the distance, and consequently we are at a loss to define exactly the eastern limit of the Kausāmbī kingdom as it was known to Fa-hian. His reckoning does not appear to be calculated to the vicinity of Mauganj, 62 miles from Mirzāpur, on the Great Deccan Road going towards Central India. The distances to Mauganj, calculated from Benares city, are 27 miles to Mirzāpur; from this on to the foot of the Katrā Pass another 36 miles; and thence to Mauganj 26 miles; or altogether 89 miles from Benares to Mauganj. At Mangawa, 22 miles by road to the south-west of Mauganj, the Great

¹ Beal, i, p. lxxviii.

² *Arch. Surv. Report* (A.S.R.), i, p. 315.

³ The Ghositārāma or Ghosāvatārāma (Kern, *Manual*, p. 34), or garden of Ghosika "near" Kausāmbī (Hardy, *Manual*, p. 369), named after Ghosika, Ghosita, Ghositā, or Ghosila, one of the three ministers of Udayana, king of the Vatsa country. This is, probably, the same monastery which was situated in the śimśapā grove (*Dalbergia sisu*) (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 205).

Deccan Road is joined by the road coming south-west from Allahabad over the Sohāgī Pass. The distance from Mangawa to Allahabad is $62\frac{1}{2}$ miles. If Fa-hian had given the distance to the Kausāmbī kingdom by Mirzāpur, it is probable that his reckoning would have been only as far as the Katrā Pass, and not to a point 26 miles by road within the mountainous border. The whole of the hilly country in this region probably was included in the Kausāmbī kingdom. There are no traces of a large ancient city between Mauganj and Mangawa, and it is very improbable that the city of Kausāmbī could have been anywhere near this position, for then Yuan Chwang's bearing south-west from the kingdom of Prayāga would require to be changed to south, if we are to understand that the pilgrim's bearing also led in the direction of the city. I infer that Fa-hian's 13 yojanas must refer to some other route, as I do not believe that "country" in his narrative is an error for "city" of Kausāmbī. The road along which the distance and bearing, which I would read to the *south*-west and to the border of the kingdom, are given, is most likely by Silpī ghāt, "the one ghāt *viā* which the great pilgrim road from Benares through Chunar goes to Katak and Ramessar; it comes *viā* Chunar through Suktisgarh, Rajgarh, across the Sonat Kurari, meeting the other road near Kusmawa, thence on to Baghaia, where it divides into two, the minor one going direct past the tirath at Poari¹ and the caves of Kotar, Jarandha, and Banauli to Mārā, the main one *viā* Saipur also through Kotar to Mārā, and thence on through Sonhat Mahtin, Pali, Baluda, Bachandgarh, Janjgir, to Seonarayan, everyone of the places named containing remains of antiquity" ² If this be the route intended by Fa-hian it would appear, from what we know from other sources, that the Kausāmbī country comprised territory lying both to the north and south of the upper course of

¹ Possibly Pāvāriya, *Buddhist India*, p. 36.

² A.S.R., xiii, p. 16, and pl. xx (map).

the Sone river, where it flows near the southern border of the Mirzāpur District, and contained a great part of the Rīwā State in Central India. This location of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī is, I consider, in part confirmed by the legend of Bakula,¹ from which we hear that it was customary for him to travel between the cities of Kauśāmbī and Benares "in a boat by the river Mahī." Inasmuch as the rivers from Rīwā territory flowing northwards to the Ganges are not navigable, whereas the Mahī river was, but possibly only for boats of light burden, I infer that by the Mahī river, which was one of the five great rivers² of Jambudvīpa, is meant the Sonè, and that the city of Kauśāmbī, if not actually by the side of the Sone, was at least at no great distance from it, or from one of its upper tributaries. In this legend the Jamunā river is also mentioned, but we know from Yuan Chwang that the city of Kauśāmbī was 700 li from the course of this river, so that the city could not have been located on its left bank at Kosam, the site identified with Kauśāmbī until Mr. Vincent Smith first proved the erroneousess of the general belief. Other evidence, afterwards given, renders it improbable that Kauśāmbī city could have been situated by the side of the Jamunā river.³

It is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to how far south the kingdom of Kauśāmbī stretched. It would appear possible that it extended to the sources of the Narbadā and Mahānadi rivers, and perhaps these rivers formed the southern boundary of the kingdom in the earliest Buddhist period. In the quotation I gave⁴ respecting the supposed road by which Fa-hian reckons his distance southwest from Sārnāth or Benares to the Kauśāmbī border, there

¹ Hardy, *Manual*, p. 520; Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxvi, p. 11, note. The correct name of Bakula, or Bak-kula, 'the two family one,' was Nakula, 'mongoose' (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 337), according to Yuan Chwang.

² Hardy: *Manual*, pp. 17, 455, 510.

³ The identification of Kosam with Kauśāmbī was no longer tenable when the distance 50 li, on which the identification rested, was corrected to 500 li (Beal, *Life*, p. 91, note 1). From its geographical position it is almost a certainty that Kosam lay in the kingdom of Prayāga.

⁴ A.S.B., xiii, p. 16.

are mentioned together two places named Pālī and Bāludā, at which ancient remains exist. When Gautama in the ninth year of his ministry became disgusted owing to the dissensions in the Order at Kausāmbī, he left his followers and resided in turn in three monasteries built for him by three rich merchants in the "country"¹ of Kausāmbī. At first "he repaired to the village of Bālakaloṇakāra . . . After a meeting with the venerable Rhagu, he proceeded to the eastern Bambu park (Pācīnavamsadāya), where Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila were living . . . They cordially welcomed their Master, who gladdened them with a sermon, and then went farther to Pārileyyaka. There, dwelling in the Rakkhita grove, at the foot of a Bhadrāsūla tree, he felt all the happiness of a solitary life."² The three unnamed monasteries of the Burmese account perhaps were situated at Bālakaloṇakāra, Badarika,³ and Pārileyyaka. Bālakaloṇakāra is, perhaps, Bāludā⁴ in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces, 5 miles to the east of Bachaud.⁵ Buddhist remains exist in towns close by. Pārileyyaka⁶ is possibly Pālī, at which there is a temple "probably built on cell foundations,"⁷ but the identification I suggest is possibly doubtful, as there does not appear to be a cave⁸ near. The Badarika monastery, at which Jātaka No. 16 was narrated, was probably situated somewhere on the road between Bāludā and Pālī, if this Pālī corresponds to Pārālī, but I cannot point to the spot. At Malbūr, about 22 miles in a straight

¹ Bigandet, i, p. 235.

² Kern: *Manual*, pp. 34, 35. According to Hardy, p. 369, Gautama spent the tenth rainy season at Pārālī, and at the foot of the sāla tree there was a cave. Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, 1880, p. 72) has "in a hut built by the villagers."

³ Jātaka No. 16.

⁴ A.S.R., vii, p. 211, and xiii, pp. 15, 16, 152.

⁵ Marked on A.S.R., xiii, pl. xx.

⁶ It is called both a forest and village. Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, 1880, p. 72) has 'forest of Pārileyyaka'; Bigandet (*Legend of Gautama*, 1866, pp. 223, 224) has 'village of Paleyyaka' and 'forest of Paleluka'; Hardy (*Manual*, p. 369) has 'forest of Pārālī.'

⁷ A.S.R., vii, p. 219. Pālī is shown on A.S.R., xvii, pl. 1 (map).

⁸ But see note 6.

line to the south-west of Bāludā, an inscription of 919 Cedi Sainvat was obtained which mentions Kosambī,¹ a village in the Tummāṇa country.

The old road northwards from these places to Allahabad passes through Amarakantaka, Sohāgpur, Majholi, Candradih, and Gūrgi to the east of Rīwā.² From Sohāgpur a branch road goes through another place called Pālī, which is situated to the north-west of Sohāgpur and to the south of Bandogaḍh. At Pālī there are early undescribed remains,³ but I do not know if they are of Buddhist origin, or if this place can be identified with Pārileyyaka. I have supposed that we should look for Pārileyyaka or Pārālī at one or other of the places named Pālī.

Towards the south-west the kingdom of Kausāmbī apparently marched with the kingdom of Avantī or Ujjain.⁴

When Yuan Chwang proceeded from the country of Prayāga south-west, he could have crossed the northern border of the Kausāmbī kingdom either by the Sohāgī Pass, or at the place where the Tons river reaches the level country to the north of the Rīwā plateau.⁵ The most ancient road into the kingdom of Kausāmbī from the north was doubtless that going southwards through the pass by the side of the Tons river.⁶ Along this route from the Jamunā ancient remains⁷ and inscriptions abound. At Bithā, 10 miles to the south of south-west of Allahabad on the high road to Rīwā, many Buddhist remains have been discovered. On a block of stone, about 1½ miles from

¹ A.S.R., vii, p. 211. Epig. Ind., i, p. 10.

² A.S.R., viii, pp. 13, 14, 15, and pl. xv (map); A.S.R., xxi, p. 149.

³ A.S.R., xii, p. 12.

⁴ Compare with Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 7.

⁵ A.S.R., xxi, pl. 1 (map).

⁶ For an account of the road as it ascends to Sirmol on the edge of the tableland, see A.S.R., xxi, p. 114.

⁷ At Bithā, A.S.R., iii, p. 46, x, p. 6, and xix, p. 60, Ginjā Hill, A.S.R., xxi, p. 119, Blairpur, A.S.R., xix, pp. 62, 73. Chaukandih, A.S.R., xix, p. 64; Piāwan, A.S.R., xxi, pp. 112, 141, and (Jhirmā) A.S.R., xix, p. 68; Ālhā Ghāt, A.S.R., xxi, p. 114; Kevati Kund, A.S.R., xxi, pp. 115, 141, 142.

Ālhā Ghāt, Kausāmbī is mentioned in an inscription¹ dated 1216 Samvat (1159 A.D.), while at Kevatī Kuṇḍ there are two Buddhist *stūpas* carved in outline on a rock at the mouth of a cave, and on the roof of the cave can be seen an inscription of about 200 B.C. On the road from Allahabad to Rīwā by the Sohāgī Pass I have not observed that a single ancient site is described.

From Allahabad to Sirmol *via* Nainī, Bhitā, etc., the road-distance is 64 miles; from Sirmol along the Tons river to Satnā, 45 miles; from Sirmol to Gūrgī, 27 miles; and from Rīwā to Gūrgī, 10 miles.² The distance by road from Allahabad to the right bank of the Jamunā river is 3 miles, and from the river by the new road through the Sohāgī Pass to the town of Rīwā is 77½ miles.

It is probable, I think, that Yuan Chwang's 500 li, or 66·1 English miles, south-west from the Prayāga border, Jamunā river, to the Kausāmbī border, are reckoned either to Ālhā Ghāt, or to Sirmol higher up the Tons valley on the edge of the Rīwā tableland. Yuan Chwang's distance of 500 li does not agree with the route by the Sohāgī Pass, as the distance from Allahabad, the approximate position of the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā when Yuan Chwang visited this locality, to the Rīwā border 6 miles beyond the village of Sohāgī is only 41½ miles, whereas the pilgrim's reckoning is 66·1 English miles, or 500 li, to the border of the Kausāmbī country. There are no important remains near Mauganj, as previously stated. To me it appears certain that Yuan Chwang followed the ancient road by Bhitā, etc., to Sirmol, and that he has represented the northern edge of the Rīwā State, near Sirmol, as the northern limit of the Kausāmbī kingdom. The absence of ancient remains along the Sohāgī route from Allahabad makes it very probable that this road was not much frequented in the early centuries of the Christian era.

¹ Published in *Ind. Antiq.*, xviii, p. 214.

² These distances have been furnished to me through the courtesy of Major S. F. Bayley, Agent to the Baghelkhand Agency at Satnā.

The present road by the Sohāgī Pass is of recent construction.

If we allow that Yuan Chwang travelled by the Sohāgī Pass to Rīwā, and thence to the city of Kausāmbī, we should look for the ruins of the ancient city at the distance of 11·54 English miles beyond the town of Rīwā, if we reckon from Allahabad ($3 + 78 + 11·54 = 92·54$ miles = 700 li), or at the distance of 14·54 miles from Rīwā, if we calculate the distance from the banks of the Jamunā at Nainī, south of Allahabad. The distance from Allahabad to Sirmol we have seen is 64 miles, and from Sirmol by road to Gūrgī 27 miles, that is, the distance from the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā to Gūrgī, which, I believe, corresponds to the site of Kausāmbī city, is 91 miles, against Yuan Chwang's 700 li or 92·54 miles. Whether we travel by the Sohāgī Pass and Rīwā to Gūrgī, or by Ālhā Ghāt and thence by road to Gūrgī, the distance by either way is the same to Gūrgī from Allahabad, namely, 91 miles.

I think I have made it clear in the first few pages of this article that the distance south-west from the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā, or perhaps from some point close to it on the Jamunā, which formed the southern border of the country of Prayāga, to the northern limit of the kingdom of Kausāmbī, was 500 li of Yuan Chwang; and that from the northern border of the Kausāmbī kingdom to the city of Kausāmbī the distance was another 200 li, as Yuan Chwang's reckoning is 700 li from the city of Kausāmbī to the banks of the Ganges, to a point probably somewhere near the confluence.

Mr. Vincent Smith, I am convinced, has erroneously taken 500 li,¹ instead of 700 li, as the distance to the city of Kausāmbī. The 700 li are considered by this antiquary either as the distance from Kausāmbī city to Dalamaū Ghāt, on the Ganges about $75\frac{1}{4}$ miles² to the north-west of

¹ J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 503-519.

² This is the distance from Allahabad to Fatehpur by the Grand Trunk Road, and is very nearly exact, I should think, for the distance to Dalamaū, which is 18 miles by road north-east of Fatehpur.

Allahabad, or as that to Baksar Ghāt, still higher up the Ganges. At one or other of these two ferries Mr. Vincent Smith supposes that Yuan Chwang crossed the Ganges on his way to the city of Śrāvastī. Mr. Vincent Smith makes the pilgrim travel south-west from Prayāga to Kauśāmbī by one road, and, I presume, go north-east by another from Kauśāmbī to Dalamaū, or Baksar, and cross both the Ganges and Jamunā on the way. He believes that the city of Kauśāmbī should be found in the valley of the Tons river; that "the Satnā (Sutna) railway station marks the *approximate* position of Kauśāmbī"; that the celebrated Buddhist ruins at Bharhut (Bharaut), "situated about nine miles a little east of south from Satnā railway station, about 90 to 92 miles south-west of Allahabad," "satisfy the conditions of geographical position with almost absolute certainty"; and that Kauśāmbī will, "when properly looked for, be found not very far from Satnā, Kho, or Bharhut," but he does "not affirm that the known remains at or close to Bharhut are those of Kauśāmbī."

I have observed that the distance of 500 li was to the "country" or border of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī, and not to the city. It is not generally admissible to change "country" to "city" or "capital."¹ There is no particular reason, even if Satnā be the approximate position of the city of Kauśāmbī, why Yuan Chwang should have travelled in the direction of Dalamaū or Baksar Ghāṭs, as the pilgrim does not say that he went from Kauśāmbī to Śrāvastī city, as Mr. Vincent Smith makes him do from the capital of Pi-so-kia. The measurement given by the pilgrim from the capital of the Pi-so-kia kingdom is to the *country*, or border, of the kingdom of Śrāvastī, and not to the *city* of Śrāvastī. To reach Dalamaū, or Baksar, Ghāt, Yuan Chwang must have crossed the Jamunā, if he went by a short route, but he only mentions having crossed the Ganges to reach Kaśapura.

Not one of the places named by Mr. Vincent Smith, in my opinion, appears to suit the approximate position of the city

¹ J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 83-86, 97, 98, 102.

of Kausāmbī, on measuring from Allahabad. Take Satnā, the nearest to the Jamunā. The railway line between Allahabad and Satnā railway stations takes a considerable detour to the south-west, and the distance between the two stations is 110 miles by rail, and by road from Allahabad to Satnā along the Tons river it is 109 miles, whereas the city of Kausāmbī should be distant 700 li, or about 92½ miles, by road, from the Ganges-Jamunā confluence, or bank of the Jamunā hereabouts. Nor does the site of Bharhut agree with the approximate position of Kausāmbī city, as the distance by road from Satnā is about nine miles further south.¹ Satnā is 31½ miles by the tonga road almost due west from Rīwā, which is 80½ miles by road from Allahabad. The road-distance, therefore, to Satnā *via* Rīwā is 112½ miles. Satnā, by whichever way we travel, cannot, I consider, mark the approximate position of the city of Kausāmbī, as it is, at the lowest estimate, 109 miles from Allahabad, 16·46 miles out of the reckoning by road. There are no remains on the Rīwā-Saugor road which correspond to the distance of 700 li or 92·54 miles, or approximately at this distance, from the Jamunā, that is, at a point on the Rīwā-Saugor road indicated by the distance of 12 miles to the south-west of Rīwā, if we reckon the 700 li from Allahabad, or at the distance of 15 miles on this road from Rīwā, if we calculate the 700 li from the Jamunā river south of Allahabad. The only place on this road to Saugor at which considerable remains are described is at Mahiyar (Māihar), but Mahiyar is distant 21 miles south of Satnā, and from Rīwā by road 41½ miles. I know of no ruins situated 16·46 miles (= 109 miles from Allahabad to Satnā by the Tons river, less 92·54 miles or 700 li) north of the Satnā railway station, or at 13·46 miles north of Satnā if we

¹ Mr. Vincent Smith, reproving Cunningham in giving 120 miles for the distance from Allahabad to the Bharhut *stupa* (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 511, note 1), makes the distance 92 to 98 miles, which is certainly very far from accurate. Cunningham's distance is nearly correct. He seems to have taken 110 miles, the distance from Allahabad to Satnā by rail, and added 10 miles for the distance to Bharhut by road from Satnā. Now, Allahabad to Rīwā by road is 80½ miles, from Rīwā to Satnā 31½ miles, and about 9 miles more on to Bharhut, say about 121 miles altogether, by this way.

measure from the Jamunā south of Allahabad, which correspond in distance with the reckoning to the city of Kausāmbī. The famous fort of Kālinjar, which I estimate is about $94\frac{3}{4}$ miles south-west of Allahabad by the nearest roads, agrees accurately enough, if we measure from the Jamunā, with the distance to the city of Kausāmbī, but the remains at Kālinjar, so far as published descriptions tell us, do not appear to me to agree with Yuan Chwang's description of Kausāmbī.

If we assume that Yuan Chwang crossed the Jamunā close to Kosam the position of Bharhut would agree with Yuan Chwang's 700 li and probable bearing to the city of Kausāmbī. It is unlikely that the city lay to the east side of Bharhut towards Pannā, as there is in that direction no great river, such as the Mahī is described to be, which flows towards Benares city. The same objection holds good for any ancient site lying to the north of Bharhut and to the south of the Jamunā, including the country at or near Kālinjar.

My estimate¹ of the value of Yuan Chwang's li does not seem to me to allow that Mr. Vincent Smith's equation 700 li of Yuan Chwang are equal to 115 to 120 miles, but if others are disposed to agree with his estimate, the 700 li from Kausāmbī city do not correspond to the distance by road from Satnā to Dalamaū Ghāt, the nearer of the two ferries he mentions. The shortest good road from Satnā to Dalamaū, that by Naugaḍh, Kālinjar, Bāndā, and Fatehpur, is 154 miles. It is not probable that by footpaths through the hills, and elsewhere, this distance could be reduced more than from 10 to 15 miles, a very liberal reduction. Thus from Mr. Vincent Smith's equation it follows that Satnā is apparently not the approximate position of Kausāmbī, or that Yuan Chwang could not have crossed at Dalamaū, if Satnā is near the city of Kausāmbī. It is obvious that Baksar, still farther from Satnā, is out of the question. And we have seen that Yuan Chwang does not say that he

¹ J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 80.

went to the city of Śrāvastī from the kingdom of Kauśāmbī, taking the capital of Pi-so-kia on the way, and therefore that he did not necessarily have to cross the Jamunā, so far as we know from his itinerary, to arrive at Kaśapura.

"Gurgi is by universal report said to contain innumerable numbers of sculptured stones, and in this respect to stand alone in the Raj of Rewa."¹ "It is, further, more than probable these remains mark the site of the ancient capital of this part of Central India,"² and I would add that not unlikely Gūrgī³ is built on the site of the renowned city of Kauśāmbī. No other remains in the Rīwā State, so far as I know, cover so extensive an area. The position of Gūrgī practically agrees with the distance of 700 li or 92·45 miles to Kauśāmbī from the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā, the actual distance from Allahabad by Śirmol to Gūrgī coming to 91 miles by road.

Yuan Chwang gives the circuit of Kauśāmbī city as "about 30 li," about 6,980 English yards or 20,940 feet. Garrick found that the circumference of the stone walls of the remains near Gūrgī measured 12,266 feet.⁴ He adds that he "arrived at the conclusion that the original city was a quadrangle of quite 4,000 feet, if not more, either way." Cunningham's survey gave 452 feet less, or 11,814 feet.⁵ There is thus seen to be a very wide divergence between 16,000 feet, the total of the quadrangular estimate, and Yuan Chwang's 20,940 feet. Possibly Yuan Chwang included some religious establishments outside the walls of Gūrgī in his 30 li, and it may have happened that the city was much altered, or perhaps was rebuilt during the

¹ A.S.R., xii, p. 13. The sculptures are noticed at A.S.R., xix, pp. 80, 87-89, and pl. xix, xxi, pp. 143, 144, 151-153, and pls. xxxvi, xxxvii. Those with inscriptions are mostly of about the tenth and eleventh centuries; see A.S.R., xxi, p. 153. For the inscriptions consult A.S.R., xii, p. 13, note; xvi, pp. 144, 150, 152. None earlier than about 880 A.D., the time of the Kalacuri king Kokkalla, have been found; see A.S.R., xxi, p. 150.

² A.S.R., xix, p. 89.

³ Gūrgī village, which gives its name to the ruins, lies one mile to the south-west of them. The ruins are described A.S.R., xix, p. 85, with pl. xx, and xxi, p. 149, with pl. xxiv.

⁴ A.S.R., xix, p. 86.

⁵ A.S.R., xxi, p. 150.

dominion of the Candellas and Kalacuris in these parts, and that most of the old landmarks noted in Buddhist accounts were obliterated.

I find it impossible to say which mound inside the fortifications represents the 'old palace,' which contained a well, bathing-house, signs of the four former Buddhas, and a *vihāra*, the last enclosing a sandal-wood figure of Gautama under a stone canopy, and which was the house of Ghosira in the south-east angle of the city. To the south-east of the city, "not far,"¹ there existed close together the Ghosira *saṅghārāma*, a nail and hair *stūpa*, an Aśoka *stūpa*, where Tathāgata for several years preached the law, 'signs' of the four former Buddhas, tower of Vasubandhu, and foundation wall of Asaṅga's chamber, not even of one of which does there appear to be a trace, so far as published descriptions of Gūrgī testify. To the south-west of the city 8 or 9 li, 1 to 1.18 mile, Yuan Chwang places a group of sacred monuments comprising the Nāga stone dwelling, an Aśoka *stūpa*, 'marks' where Tathāgata walked, and a hair and nail *stūpa*. Exactly at the distance of one mile to the south-west, as noted by Yuan Chwang, there is a great mound of ruins called 'Gurgaj' or Rāja Karaṇ Daharia-kā-kila. This mound is a mere confused mass of rough stones, the remains of a palace and temples. Here the beautifully carved Rīwā gateway² was discovered. The mound, I think, must at a much earlier date have been the site of the buildings that were situated to the south-west of Kausāmbī, as mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

To the south-west of this mound of ruins, more than a mile distant, there is a solitary hill called Goragad, on the summit of which there were traces of a level flooring believed to have been used as a promenade by the former rulers of the neighbourhood.³ The Gūrgī remains are situated on an open plain, and there appears to be only one hill anywhere near. Goragad, therefore, possibly is

¹ The *Saḍḍhammaratnakāre* (Hardy, *Manual*, p. 369) says "near Kosambæ."

² A.S.R., xix, pl. xix.

³ A.S.R., xix, p. 89; and xxi, p. 149, with pl. xxxv.

the "hill Makula, at Kosambi,"¹ to which Gautama retired in the fifth year of his ministry. If some allowance should be made for a possible variation in spelling in the account, Makula may be Mekala, the famous Amarakantaka *tīrath*, at which the river Narbadā is supposed to have its origin. Although Professor Rhys Davids' authority places the Makula hill "at" Kausāmbī, it is curious that Yuan Chwang makes no reference to Gautama resting at the mount. It is possible, therefore, that the hill was really not exactly at Kausāmbī, or that it was the name of the site one mile to the south-west of Kausāmbī where stood the 'marks' associated with Gautama which the pilgrim places in this position. I am, however, more disposed to believe that the Makula hill is either Amarakantaka or Goragad, though very possibly others can point out a site with better claims than either of these places.

At Gūrgī "only a few Buddhist figures [have been found], but Jain and Brahmanical figures are numerous."² One of the Buddhist figures is a half life-size seated image of Padmapāṇi,³ now at Rīwā.

We learn from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* that changes in the course of the Ganges brought about the destruction of Hastināpura, and that in consequence the Kurus removed their capital to Kausāmbī,⁴ I understand to the Kausāmbī country. Kakareri or Kakareḍi, at the head of the Mamani Pass, was possibly the new capital of the Kurus, as in an inscription dated 1297 Samvat (1240 A.D.), belonging to the Rīwā darbār, Kakareḍi is spoken of as the city of the Kaurava race.⁵

Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* states that Kuśa, the son of Rāma, had four sons, of whom

"Kuśamba, prince of high renown,
Was builder of Kausāmba's town."

¹ Rhys Davids *Buddhism*, 1880, p. 70.

² A.S.R., xxi, p. 152. For references to sculptures see note 1, p. 262.

³ A.S.R., xxi, p. 144.

⁴ Haraprasād Śāstrī, M.A. : *A School History of India*, p. 9.

⁵ A.S.R., xxi, p. 147, pl. 1; x, p. 15.

Kuśamba, in the Bengal recension, is called Kuśāsva, and his city Kauśāsvī.¹ In a passage, the source of which is not known, it is related that Kuśa "ruled over Kośala at his capital Kuśasthalī or Kuśāvati, built upon the Vindhyan precipices."² The italics are mine. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, too, locates Kuśāvati or Kuśasyanagarī on the edge of the Vindhyan hills.³ Kauśāsvī, Kuśasthalī, Kuśāvati, and Kuśasyanagarī were, possibly, names of the city of Kauśāmbī, called also Kosambiū⁴ and Kausambhi,⁵ which we see was situated on a spur or elevated piece of flat ground, probably on the northern edge of the Vindhyan range. It will be observed that if all these names refer to one place this topographical description of the site of the city nullifies the possibility of identifying Kosam on the Jamunā with Kauśāmbī, as Kosam cannot be said to be either near or on the Vindhyan precipices.

The position of Gūrgī, near the source of the Mahonā or Mahānadī, on a tableland or open plain close to the north side of the Kaimur range, agrees with the Hindu account of the site of Kuśamba's town.

Uttara Kośala (Ayodhya) and Southern Kośala seem to have constituted one kingdom in the time of Kuśa, or when the *Rāmāyaṇa* received its present literary form, as "it would appear from the Vāyu, that Kuśa, the son of Rāma, transferred his kingdom [? capital] to a more central position."⁶

In an inscription of 1345 Samvat (1288 A.D.), obtained either from Ajayagadh (Jayadurgā), or from Kālinjar, and in which mention is made of Rāja Bhoja Varmma, Candella,

¹ Griffith's translation, canto xxxiv, and note 2 (book i).

² Wilson (Hall), *Viśṇu Purāṇa*, ii, p. 172, has *Vindhya-parvatasānuṣu*. *Sānu* in the dictionary is given as 'level ground on top, or edge of a mountain; tableland.' Kuśasthalī (*sthalī* = 'upland') or Kuśāvati must not be confused with Dvārakā or Kuśasthalī (*Viśṇu Purāṇa*, iii, p. 253), or with Kuśāvati, a name of Kuśinārā, the scene of Gautama's death.

³ Uttarakaṇḍa, sarga 108, śloka 4, has *Vindhya-parvata rodhas*. *Rodhas* = 'bank, high bank, shore, flank.' *Rodhas* and *sānuṣu* are evidently synonyms.

⁴ J.A.S.B., vii, 1838, p. 165.

⁵ *Asiatic Researches*, xx, p. 72.

⁶ *Viśṇu Purāṇa*, ii, p. 172.

there is a village named Kauśāmvapura,¹ but whether or not this is Kauśāmbī is uncertain. At the distance of 32 miles south-west of Allahabad and seven miles to the north-west of the Badgaḍ railway station, there is a village called Paposa, at which there is a temple, on a hill, of the Digambara Jainas. Paposa is known to them as Kauśāmbīnagarī, and is mentioned in their guidebooks as sacred, and in consequence is visited by pilgrims. Possibly Paposa may be Kauśāmvapura of the inscription.

Payahāsa² in the Kauśāmbī kingdom has not been identified.

The distance between the cities Ujjain and Kauśāmbī was 50 yojanas.³ The road-distance from Ujjain to Gūrgī is about 415½ miles by the usual short way, viz. :—

	Miles	Furlongs
Ujjain to Sehor, by rail	90	0
Sehor to Saugor, <i>viā</i> Bhopāl and Bhilsā, by road	126	0
Saugor to Rīwā, <i>viā</i> Damoh ...	189	4
Rīwā to Gūrgī	10	0
Total ⁴ ...	415	4

415 miles 4 furlongs divided by 50 give a yojana of 8 31 English miles. I conclude that each yojana was probably 8·18 English miles, and that the Babylonian cubit of 21·6 English inches⁵ (= 2 spans) was not unlikely at one time in use in some parts of India, because 21·6 inches × 4 cubits × 500 bows × 12 krośa = 21 6 × 4 × 6,000 bow-lengths = 8·18

¹ J A S B., vi, 1837, p 886.

² A S R, xvii, p 95, J.R.A.S., 1898, p 519

³ Hardy, p 252, possibly on the authority of one of the books noticed at p. 529 of *Manual*. The distance needs confirmation

⁴ Rīwā to Gūrgī is also said to be twelve miles (A S R, xxi, p 149). In this article I have used the road-distances as given by the Quarter-Master General in India in *Routes in the Bengal and Punjab Commands* (1900 ed.), unless when otherwise specified. Nothing has been added to the 90 miles by rail to make up for the probable greater distance by road, as the pilgrim road from Saugor to Gūrgī would perhaps branch off somewhere to the southward of Rīwā, and go north-east to Gūrgī.

⁵ Shaw-Caldecott J.R.A.S., 1903, pp 276, 282

English miles. Here we have a yojana of 6,000 bow-lengths, each 96 finger-breadths. In the Hindu books¹ yojanas of 2,000, 4,000, and 8,000 bow-lengths are found, but I have not before now noticed one of 6,000 bow-lengths. It was, however, to be expected that one of this value existed, and, continuing the progressive series, yojanas of 10,000 bow-lengths,² and possibly others of still higher value, were occasionally adopted.

¹ Jervis, *Standards*, 1836 (J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 77, note 1), p. 268; Hardy, p. 11, note.

² J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 73, 74, where 10,000 bow-lengths = 100 li.

XII.

HASTIVANJ.

By H. BEVERIDGE.

THERE is a mountain-ridge on the old route to Kashmīr *viā* Bhimbar and Bahrām-gula which bears the name of Hastivanj. It is near the 'Alīābād Serai, but is on the other, or right, bank of the Pīr Panteāl stream, and is marked on Dr. Stein's map of Kashmīr. See also his Rājataranginī, book i, pp. 44-5, and vol. ii, pp. 394-5. Dr. Stein visited the spot and identified it as the place where King Mihrakul, who lived in the first part of the sixth century, is said to have had a hundred elephants thrown over the cliffs. The circumstance is mentioned in the Āin Akbarī, Jarrett, ii, 382, but both there and at p. 347 *id.* the place is called in the Persian text Hastī Watar or Vatar. The name Hastivanj occurs apparently for the first time in Ḥaidar Malik's history of Kashmīr, which was written during Jahāngīr's reign and about 1621. After that it occurs in a note to the oldest MS. of the Rājataranginī, written apparently about 1680, and in Narayan Kūl's history, which was written about 1710. Ḥaidar Malik mentions the place in his account of Mihrakul near the beginning of his book. He there describes the incident, and says that the place has since been called Hastivanj استی ونج, because *hastī* means elephant (*fil*) in the Hindī (qu. Sanskrit) tongue, and *vanj* in the same language means 'going' (*raftan*). Narayan Kūl's explanation is similar, and is probably copied from Ḥaidar. He says that according to the idiom of the men of India (Ahl-i-Hind) *hastī* means a number (?) of elephants and *vanj* means 'going' (*raftan*). Dr. Stein, like Colonel Jarrett, at first thought that the Watar of Abul Fazl was merely a copyist's error for

vanj, caused by the obscurity of Persian characters. But it seems to be *watar* in all the MSS., and there is not much resemblance between *vanj* and وتر. Gladwin found وتر in his MSS., for his translation is, "From this circumstance the height obtained its present name; Husty signifying an elephant, and Wutter meaning injury." Similarly, it was و in the MSS. employed by the Bib. Ind. editors.¹ Moreover, Abul Fazl explains the word *watar* as meaning injury, a meaning which *vanj* does not bear. Finally, the Pass is mentioned four times in the Akbarnāma (as distinguished from the Āin), viz., at pp. 540, 618, 622, and 624 of vol. iii, Bib. Ind. edition, and each time it is called Hastiwatar. When I pointed this out to Dr. Stein he kindly acknowledged that Abul Fazl probably wrote *watar*. The question, then, is, was Abul Fazl mistaken? Apparently he was, for Haidar Malik, the anonymous glossator A², and Narayan Kūl might be expected to know the name of a place on the borders of their own country. On the other hand, Abul Fazl personally went over the pass, and he is a careful writer and inquirer. Moreover, the word, whether it be *vanj* or *watar*, is not Kashmīrī, and also *watar*, if there be such a word, and if it means loss or damage, seems more appropriate than *vanj*, which merely means 'going,' unless indeed *vanj*, like *raftan*, may also mean 'dying.' We have also to remember that Abul Fazl is our oldest authority, for his book was written about 1597.

If *watar* or *vatar* be correct, may it not be derived from the Sanskrit वितड, *vi-taḍ*, 'to dash to pieces.' The cerebral *ḍ* is often pronounced like *r*, and so Hastivitaḍ might become Hastivitar. But if *vanj* be the proper reading, is it necessary to go to an obscure dialect like Western Panjābī for its derivation? *Ch* and *j* are very much alike in Persian, the only difference being in the number of dots. They also

¹ The Newal Kishore (Lucknow) ed. has *girewa*-zind at the place corresponding to p. 540 Bib. Ind., and which the Bib. Ind. gives there as a variant. At the other three places the Lucknow ed. has *watir*, etc. Nowhere has it *vani*. The authority of this edition is very small.

are often interchanged. The word then may be the Sanskrit *van̄ch*, supposed to be derived from the root *vank*, and which means 'to tremble' and also 'to go.' Possibly, indeed, this word and the Western Panjābī *vanj* are of one and the same origin.

I take this opportunity of remarking that there is a great deal about Kashmīr in the third volume of the Akbarnāma, and that the second volume contains two interesting accounts of unsuccessful raids into that country, one by Humāyūn's favourite, Abu-l-M'aālī, and the other by Qarā Bahādur, Ḥaidar Mīrzā's second cousin. In particular the third volume gives a minute itinerary of Akbar's march to Srinagar by the Pīr Pantsāl route, and of his return by the Paklī, i.e. the Barāhmūla route. The length of each stage is given, even to the number of poles. There is also a curious account of a prophecy of Akbar's conquest, said to have been made 900 years before, and which was recorded in a Sanskrit poem.

It is a pity that Abul Faẓl's accounts have not been more studied by writers on Kashmīr. If Sir Walter Lawrence, in his otherwise excellent account of the Valley, had known Abul Faẓl's statements, he would not have described Rajah Todar Mal as the officer who made the settlement of Kashmīr, and who missed out a *pargana*. The first settlement of Kashmīr in Akbar's time was made by officers who are named at vol. iii, p. 548, and of whom the poet Faizī was one. Subsequent settlements were made by Aṣaf Khān and Qāzī 'Alī Bagdādī. As a fact, Todar Mal never visited Kashmīr. Akbar left him in charge of Lahore when he made his first expedition to Kashmīr, and he died there at the end of 1589 before Akbar's return.

P.S.—It appears from the Akbarnāma, iii, 503 and 622, and from Nizāmu-d-dīn (see Elliot, v, 454 and 463 note), that the Hastī Watar route is that by the Kapartal, or Katartal, or Kanarbal, or Kartal Pass (for all these variants are found). This pass is not mentioned by Dr. Stein, but it appears to be another name for the Darhāl Pass, which leads by the Nandan Sar lake and the Laddī or Roopri

streams to Hastīvanj, nearly opposite to the 'Alīābād Serai. It also appears from the Akbarnāma, id. 504, that Abul Fazl's Hastī Watar is further in than Dr. Stein's Hastīvanj, for the former speaks of it as the third pass from India and the first from the side of Kashmīr. It was east of Akrambāl, and if this place be the Kramavarta of Stein's map, then Abul Fazl's Hastī Watar cannot be Hastīvanj, but must be some place near Hurapūr. See Akbarnāma, id. 622, where apparently Akrambāl is described as being five *kos* short of Hastī Watar.

XIII.

A TALE OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

TOLD AS HISTORY IN THE "MUNTAZAM" OF IBN AL-JAUZI.

By H. F. AMEDROZ.

THE Baghdad of the "Arabian Nights" has ever been associated with the "goodly time and golden prime of good Haroun Alraschid," and his name, like that of his contemporary Charlemagne, has attracted and annexed many a tale belonging to other periods. That this is true of one of the Baghdad tales is shown by its appearing as an actual occurrence in the "Muntazam" of Ibn al-Jauzi¹ at a date some 120 years later than the death of al-Rashīd. The time was no longer 'goodly,' and the Caliphate was past its prime. Muqtadir, during whose reign it had declined apace, had died a violent death in 321 A.H., and his mother, Shaghab,

¹ In the Berlin MS., Ahlwardt No. 9,436, at fol. 46a. The liberality of the Director of the Hof Bibliothek has recently enabled me to peruse this fine MS. at the Library of the India Office. It is described in the catalogue as "perhaps" Ibn al-Jauzi's History, but it has abundant internal evidence of being the work of this author and a part of his "Muntazam." For in the notice of Ibn al-Jassās (fol. 34a) the author says that he had given many anecdotes about him in his "Kitāb al-Mughaffalīn," and again, in the notice of Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Jīyān, under 371 A.H. (fol. 119a), he speaks of having discussed his views in his "Talbis Iblīs," and both these works are by Ibn al-Jauzi (see Brock., *Gesch. Arab. Lit.*, i, 503, Nos. 9 and 38). Further, statements said by other historians to be derived from the "Muntazam" are to be found in the MS. The curious story told by Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 255) of the vizier al-Maghribī's scheme for his burial at the tomb of 'Alī is given in the notice of the vizier (fol. 176a), and it is given also by the historian's grandson, the Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi, in the *Mir'at al-Zamān* (B.M. Or. 4,619, 216b), as "told by my grandfather in the Muntazam", the date 367 A.H. for the death of Abu Firas, the Hamdanid (fol. 106b), Dhahabi quotes in the *Ta'rikh al-Islām* (B.M. Or. 48, 81b), describing it as evidently erroneous; and his account of Bahā al-Daula's vizier al-Muwaffaq, who died in 394 A.H. (ib., fol. 239a), is likewise quoted from the "Muntazam," and occurs in the MS. (fol. 150a). On the dispute as to the lawfulness of conferring the title *Shāhānshāh* on Jalāl al-Daula in 429 A.H. (B.M. Or. 49, fol. 20a), when the objections of al-Māwardī were overruled by the other legists, Dhahabi says that Ibn al-Jauzi adhered to the opinion of al-Māwardī. And the author of the Berlin MS. states therein that such was his opinion on the controversy.

did not long survive him. His filial affection, which throughout his reign had allowed her an extent of influence prejudicial to his rule,¹ continued unabated to its close, and his chief concern on starting for his fatal march against Mūnis was for what might be in store for her in the event of his perishing. According to the story of a female astrologer, his fears were prophetic in their accuracy.² Shaghab, though suffering from a mortal complaint and prostrated by her son's death, was called upon by his brother and successor, Qāhir, to disclose her hidden wealth. She disclaimed possessing more than a moderate sum, saying that any money of hers would have been used to save her son. Her vast wealth had, in fact, been expended in charity or in pious foundations, and she was found to possess no more than what she admitted — a sum of 30,000 dinars. Ibn al-Jauzi proceeds to relate, on the authority of the Qāḍi Abu 'Alī al-Tanūkhī,³ how the Caliph struck her with his own hand and had her tortured, whereupon she exclaimed that but for their poverty he would not be where he was, nor thus able to ill-treat one who was his mother according to the Book, and to whom he owed it that his own life had not been forfeited by her son.⁴ A graphic account follows, on the authority of Abu-l-Ḥasan b. 'Ayyāsh, how his uncle Abu Muḥammad, who was nephew to the chief Qāḍi 'Abu-l-Ḥusain b. Abi 'Omar,⁵ attended in company with another person in answer to the Caliph's summons for persons to witness Shaghab's authority for the sale of such property as she still possessed.⁶ A document to this effect under her

¹ Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 147-8 and 180-1, and 'Arib, 181, l. 3.

² 'Arib, 183-4, on the authority of al-Farghānī, a continuator of Ṭabari, died 362 A.H. (Dhahabī, Or. 48, 796).

³ Died 384 A.H. (Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., ii, 564, and Brock, Gesch. Arab. Lit., i, 155).

⁴ Referring to Muqtadir's generous treatment of Qāhir after his two days' Caliphate in 317 A.H. (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 152).

⁵ "Omar b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Yā'qūb", his father and grandfather had both held the same office.

⁶ The account given by Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 182, makes it appear that on Shaghab refusing to revoke her charitable endowments the Caliph did this of his

signature was produced, and they were told she was behind the curtain. With the Caliph's leave they read the document aloud and she acknowledged it, but they delayed their attestation, telling the Caliph that to make it valid they must see and recognize Shaghab. He assented; from behind the curtain came a sound of tears, the witnesses weeping likewise; it was raised; they asked her, "Are you Shaghab, the freedwoman of Mu'tadid?" She replied "Yes," and the curtain fell. They still delayed attesting until the Caliph had himself declared her to be Shaghab, and mother to his brother Muqtadir, whereupon they appended their signatures. The narrator adds that the form they had seen was that of a delicate and aged woman, of a dark complexion, but pale and bearing marks of much suffering, and that the rest of their day was darkened with reflections on the vicissitudes of time and of fortune.¹ Then follows the heading "The Slave Girl of Shaghab, the mother of Muqtadir" (see the text *infra*).

In the story of the Humpback, which is described by Lane as purely Arab and as one of the best in the "Nights," the second of the tales told by his supposed murderers is that entitled by Lane "The Story told by the Sultan's Steward" (Calcutta text, ed. Macnaughten, i, 217; Cairo, 1297, i, 88; and Lane's translation, 1859, i, 310), relating how a man was with difficulty induced to eat of a certain dish, and did so only after repeated ablutions, explaining his reluctance by the story how his neglect to wash his hands on one occasion of his eating the dish had cost him his thumbs and great toes. This story will be found to be

own act and before legal witnesses. The transaction is so understood by A. v. Kremer, "Ueber das Einnahmebudget des Abbasiden Reichs vom Jahre 306" (Denkschr. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. Wiener Akad., Bd. xxxvi, pp. 283-362, on p. 299), but this account limiting the sale to her own property is the more probable one, as the proceeding purports to be strictly legal.

¹ By the interposition of the vizier Ibn Muqla and the Chamberlain Ibn Yalbag, Shaghab, and other members of the Caliph's house, were later withdrawn from his custody, and Shaghab was honourably lodged in the Chamberlain's house, where in ten days time she died. (Ibn al-Jauzi, op. cit., fol. 45a; 'Arib, p. 186; and Ibn al-Athir, viii, 186.)

substantially identical with that of the slave-girl as told by Ibn al-Jauzi (Berlin, Ahlwardt No. 9,436, fols. 46-49).¹

It was transmitted to him likewise from the above-mentioned Qāḍi al-Tanūkhī, through his son 'Alī, who had the story from his father, and to question their authority would be in reality to call in doubt a large portion of the history of the period, for the amount of information derived by Ibn al-Jauzi and other historians from this source is enormous. It is interesting to contrast the two narratives, and to note how the story in the "Nights" differs from the original as told by Ibn al-Jauzi. The inevitable loss to truth caused by the exercise of the imagination should find its compensation in the heightened interest of a picturesque narrative, but in this instance the original seems to be in every way the better story. Indeed, in the reversion from fiction to fact, the tale will be found to have lost all its evil, whilst retaining all its grossness—the latter, however, being quite inconsiderable. It depicts the course of true love, not a wholly smooth one, but marred by no such traits of excessive temper and wanton cruelty as disfigure the Steward's Story. Nor do any of the minor deviations from the original amount to improvements. Comparing the story in the "Nights" with that told by Ibn al-Jauzi, we find that the hero was not a guest at the banquet, but the host, and was driven to eat of the unwelcome dish² by the

¹ The story occurs also in the Schefer MS. of the "Muntazam" (Paris, Arabe, No. 5,909, fols. 175-179). In the "Gids" (Amsterdam, 1886, iii, 385-413) Professor de Goeje has pointed out the similarity of the two stories, and has given a Dutch translation of this text. He also considers another story in the "Nights" to be derived from this source, viz. "The Baghdad Money-changer" (Calcutta text, ed. Macnaughten, iv, 557; Cairo, 1297, iv, 252; and Kosegarten, Chrest. Arab., 1-21), where a man in love with an inmate of the harim of Mutawakkil (232-247 A.H.) procures admission to the palace through a Court tailor, and in the disguise of the Caliph reaches the lady. On leaving in a woman's disguise the Caliph detects him, but ends by forgiving and marrying the couple.

² In the "Nights" the dish is called 'Zirbaja.' In the Schefer MS. of the "Muntazam" the word appears to be spelt 'Dikarikiya,' and it is so read by Professor de Goeje, loc. cit., who says that it is to be found neither in the dictionaries nor in books on cooking. And he adds that in the original Calcutta edition the term used is "Maqadim," an equally unknown one. By Professor D. S. Margoliouth the word is considered to be the Persian دیکیزد, meaning 'a concoction in a pot.'

company persisting in following his example in declining it. The hand-washings, estimated by the time occupied as forty, in number, are in the "Nights" swollen threefold, and are made to precede his partaking of the dish, and the telling of the story is prompted, not by the washings, but by the loss of the man's thumbs being noticed by those present. In Ibn al-Jauzi's version the man describes his father as a small trader, but not as a spendthrift: on the contrary, before dying he gives his son advice on how to prosper in his business, which is omitted in the "Nights." The advice was acted on, and with success, but the statement in the "Nights" that he became the greatest trader of Hārūn's time is an exaggeration which rather tells against the probability of the added statement, also at variance with the original, that his fellow-traders on his first default pressed him for payment. He, in fact, kept the matter secret with a view to saving his reputation, and it was only on his second default in payment, when his indebtedness was twice as heavy, that his creditors' importunities made him prepare to realize his property. The man had indeed the true commercial instinct, and though he sighed as a lover he profited as a trader, for on the lady's second visit to his shop, when she made her first payment on account,¹ he admits having made a handsome profit, and on her third visit, when they mutually disclosed their feelings and she departed leaving her purchases behind, he estimated his entire profit at some thousands of dirhams. These lifelike touches are absent in the "Nights." Nor did the sufficiently real perils of his journey to the Palace require to be heightened. The meeting with the Caliph and his curiosity as to the contents of the chests was alarming enough, but that he looked into all but the right one is a commonplace exaggeration. Ibn al-Jauzi says that he readily desisted on

¹ The amount was paid in "old dinars," weighed out with التحت والطيار, see Lane, i, 904b. In the Calcutta text, i, 220-221, the term used is الصيرفي, but in the Breslau text, ii, 172, on the second payment, الميزان.

the slave-girl telling him the chests were going straight to her mistress to be opened, when he could see them. And he did in fact come and look, but was not interested and went away—conduct quite in keeping with Muqtadir's known disposition. Again, Shaghab is discovered attended by but two handmaidens besides the heroine, and her only remark, addressed to the latter, is that her choice was a good one; in the "Nights" thirty attendants accompany Zubaida, who questions the hero on his origin and commends her favourite to him. Greater discrepancies follow. By Zubaida's order he remains ten days in the palace without seeing his mistress, after which, by the Caliph's permission, their betrothal is celebrated there, followed ten days later by the consummation of their marriage. In our narrative he quits the palace as he had come, "after fresh risk and alarm," the nature of which is not specified, and celebrates his home-coming in safety by a bestowal of alms. Later comes a letter from his mistress with money, a gift, she said, from Shaghab, to enable him to properly equip himself against the coming 'Maukab' day, when he was to attend at the Bāb al-'Āmma and await a summons from the Caliph, who had consented to have the betrothal celebrated in his presence. He attended accordingly; found Muqtadir surrounded by the military chiefs, the Qādis, and the descendants of Hāshim; was duly betrothed by a Qādi, and was then conducted to a spacious and richly furnished apartment and left alone.

We now come to the central incident of the story—the eating of the fatal dish. This, as told in the "Nights," has all the baldness of commonplace fact: the dish is brought to him on the day the marriage is consummated; he eats, but only wipes his hands, omitting to wash them; and the mischief follows. It is our narrative that has the picturesque detail. The bridegroom remained all day in his apartment, seeing no one he knew and going out only for prayer. Servants came and went, carrying dishes, and saying, "To-night so and so is to be conducted to her husband the cloth merchant," at which he could scarcely believe his ears for joy. But towards nightfall he heard the whisperings of

another sense; he felt very hungry, and seeing no signs of his bride he wandered forth and hit on the kitchen, where he found the staff at leisure. In answer to his request for food, they, believing him to be a wakīl, gave him two rolls and the dish in question, calculated, no doubt, to give a relish to the bread. After eating it he did indeed wash his hands with potash as he believed effectually, and returned. At nightfall his bride arrived with much music, and thenceforth, he says, he was as one in a dream. He was awakened by feeling himself repulsed and hearing himself described as a "low, common fellow," and his bride made as though to be gone. He begged to be, at least, informed of his offence, and being told of it, he explained the circumstances, and proceeded to swear by all that he could think of with a round turn to it that should he ever again eat of the dish he would wash his hands forty times. The remainder of the story as told in the "Nights" differs in spirit as in letter from our version. In place of the bride's exaggerated resentment and wanton cruelty to her husband, followed by his tame submission to conjugal happiness with her, we find her behaviour to be as probable as it is pleasing. That the bridegroom correctly appraised the enormity of his offence in her eyes and did not believe her to be really angry is shown by his proffered oath, which she answered with a bashful smile, and summoned her handmaidens to procure, not a sharp weapon, but refreshments, which were brought "fit for the Caliph's table." They were succeeded by presumably adequate hand-washing and by music from the handmaidens, and here we may leave them.

The bride's prudent decision not to protract overmuch their stay in the palace is recorded in both narratives, but her instructions as to the purchase of their abode appear more fully in our version, viz., that it was to have spacious courts, a large and well-wooded garden, and to be well situate. To acquire it she provided her husband with 10,000 dinars, one-fifth of the total in money and valuables that she had received from her mistress. The couple's married life was happy, worthy, the husband says, of

a Caliph, and prosperous, for he continued to trade with success. Later the wife died; the two sons of the marriage were still living; and to that day, said her widower, he had never become reconciled to the dish which his guests had seen him avoid.

A marginal note on the Schefer MS., on fol. 179*b*, says that some historians in telling the story gave the slave-girl's name as 'Qamar.'

Another tale in the "Nights," one of those illustrating the generosity of the Barmecides (Calcutta text, ed. Macnaughten, ii, 207; Cairo, 1297, ii, 133; and Lane's translation, 1859, ii, 383), describes how a man forged a letter of introduction from Yahya b. Khālīd and presented it to 'Abd Allah b. Mālīk al-Khuzā'i, the Governor of Armenia, who, doubting its genuineness, sent it to Baghdad for verification. Yahya saw it to be a forgery, and submitted the case to his friends present. They all advised severe punishment on the forger, but Yahya, rebuking their mean and paltry view, said that he and al-Khuzā'i had been, as they knew, enemies for twenty years past, whereas henceforth, through this man's act, their estrangement would cease; and he accordingly acknowledged the letter, and requested al-Khuzā'i to continue his favours to the man who had presented it. And on his coming later to thank him for his generous forbearance, he conferred further favours on him. In the Breslau edition (vii, 524) it is Ju'far's name that is forged, and the letter is presented to the Governor of Egypt.

I am informed also by Mr. A. G. Ellis that a Persian version of the story is to be found in the *Akhbār-i-Barmakiyān* by Ziyā'i Barani (Bombay Lith., pp. 55-59). The work is a collection of anecdotes of the Barmecides, and was composed in the middle of the eighth century of the Hijra at the Court of Delhi in the reign of Fīrūz Shah b. Taghlaq (see B.M. Pers. Cat., p. 333). The story is given on the authority of Abu 'Ali Qāsim b. Muḥammad, "a trustworthy authority and the author of several books," who elsewhere in the work is described as occupying a high

position at the Court of al-Rashīd. Mr. Ellis has kindly furnished me with a translation of the Persian text of the story. It is to the same effect as that in the "Nights," with some additional detail. Al-Khuzā'i is at first called Khālīd b. 'Abd Allah, the Khālīd being afterwards omitted, and he and Yahya are described as notoriously at enmity and unable to meet without recrimination. But al-Khuzā'i being strong enough to hold his own, Yahya seized the occasion of disorder in Armenia and Ādharbijān to remove his rival to a distance by advising the Caliph to appoint him governor as the only person capable of restoring order. And he, though aware of Yahya's object, yet perceiving that to the Caliph the matter was urgent, took up the post and spent some years in reorganizing the province.

It was at this time that a scholar and poet, Mu'ādh b. Yahya, whose fortunes were at a low ebb, being ignorant of the hostility existing between the vizier and the Governor, concocted a letter of recommendation from Yahya, and proceeding to Armenia and Ādharbijān, presented it to al-Khuzā'i. Surprised at receiving a letter from Yahya, he suspected its genuineness, and courteously told Mu'ādh that he and Yahya were at enmity and that the letter must be a forgery. Mu'ādh asked him to write and enquire, saying that if it proved to be forged he might treat him as he pleased. Al-Khuzā'i agreed, promising 300,000 dirhams if the forgery were disproved, as the letter would indicate the cessation of their enmity, but that in the contrary event he should get two hundred stripes as a warning to forgers. At this language Mu'ādh was indignant, saying that he was in his power and that investigation should not be prefaced by unworthy threats. Al-Khuzā'i apologized, and having made arrangements for Mu'ādh's lodging and maintenance, wrote to Yahya's chancery enquiring as to the genuineness of the letter. The staff, having no knowledge of it, applied to Yahya. He consulted those about him as to what course should be taken with Mu'ādh. They advised making an example of him, but Yahya, reproving their want of magnanimity, said Mu'ādh had acted in reliance on his

generosity, and he would never allow his being put to shame before "‘Abd Allah Hāshimi." And he himself indited a complimentary letter to al-Khuzā‘i confirming that presented by "Mu‘ādh b. Ḥarb," whom he eulogized, saying that any favours bestowed on him would confer an obligation on himself. The letter was written out by Fadl in his own hand, and handed to al-Khuzā‘i’s envoy with a recommendation to deliver it with speed. Al-Khuzā‘i, on recognizing the handwriting, was greatly pleased, and overwhelmed Mu‘ādh with excuses and gifts, saying that he would be evermore his debtor, "for through you, between myself and the Barmecides, the princes of the age, discussion has been turned into friendship." Soon afterwards Mu‘ādh departed for Baghdad, resisting an invitation to remain, as he wished to go to the vizier and discharge his debt of kindness to him.

On his arrival he immediately waited on Yahya and explained who he was and what had taken place. Yahya invoked blessings on him as having been the means of turning the enmity between him and al-Khuzā‘i into friendship, and gave him leave to use his name in applications to any other important personages. Mu‘ādh proceeded to offer him the bulk of his wealth, which Yahya refused with indignation, at which Mu‘ādh remained abashed. Thereupon Yahya, recovering his composure, bestowed on Mu‘ādh all the presents in money, beasts, slaves, and apparel which had been sent to him by al-Khuzā‘i, together with an equal amount from himself, and admitted him to his daily circle of intimate friends. Mu‘ādh retired delighted, and passed the remainder of his life in composing poetry in praise of the house of Barmak. And the story closes with the reflection that "Discerning persons have said that perhaps the house of Barmak was of the Angels, for otherwise in human kind such goodness and generosity could not exist. But Allah knows best what is right."

This story is very similar to one told of ‘Ali b. al-Furāt, thrice vizier to the Caliph Muqtadir between 296 and 311 A.H. It is related by the above-mentioned Qāḍi al-Tanūkhī in

his *Kitāb Nashwān al-Muḥādara*, Paris Arabe No. 3,482, fol. 21*a*; again by Hīlāl al-Šābi, on the authority of al-Tanūkhī's informant, the Qāḍi Ibn 'Ayyāsh, in his life of the vizier in the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā*, Gotha No. 1,766, fol. 82; and again by Ibn Khallikān, on the authority of the last-mentioned work, in his life of the vizier in the *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Sl. Eng., ii, 362. The forged letter of introduction from the vizier is presented to Abu Zunbūr al-Mādarā'i whilst Governor of Egypt. No hostility is alleged to exist between him and the vizier, though they were in fact enemies, and Ibn al-Furāt's resolve not to unmask the forger proceeds, like that of Yaḥya in the Persian work, from a feeling of pride at the reliance placed on the use of his name — a feeling which, if not consonant with an enlightened morality, is less illogical than gratitude for the reconciliation—a result not within the forger's contemplation, nor the natural result of his act. That al-Khuzā'i should have emphasized his sense of Mu'ādh's service to him in bringing about improved relations between himself and Yaḥya is probable enough, for the vizier was still in high favour and his friendship valuable.

The life of Abu Muslim Mu'ādh b. Muslim al-Hurrā, the grammarian, is given by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., iii, 370), and there is also a notice of him in the *Fihrist*, p. 65, where the date given for his death, 187 A.H., is confirmed by Ibn al-Jauzi in the "*Muntazam*" (see extract therefrom in B.M. Add. 5,928, fol. 115*a*). Ibn Khallikān says that he was the author of some poetry, such as proceeds from the pen of a grammarian. Suyūti, in the *Bughyat al-Wu'āh* (B.M. Or. 111, fol. 342), says that he was tutor to the children of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and quotes some of his verse from the history of Ibn al-Najjār (written in continuation of that of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādi, Brock., i, 360; Wust. Gesch., No. 327).

'Abd Allah b. Mālīk al-Khuzā'i was politically prominent throughout the reign of Rashīd. Ṭabari states (iii, 732) that in 192 A.H., that is, after the fall of the Barmecides, he was sent to Ādharbījān to repress the revolting Khurrāmiyya.

By him, too, hangs another tale (ib., p. 583, and Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 70-71). In his capacity of head of the police he was ordered by Mahdi to inflict punishment on the associates of Hādi, the successor designate, which he did regardless of Hādi's intercession on their behalf. On Hādi's accession he was summoned to the palace and reproached for what he had done. He replied by asking the Caliph to suppose himself as giving an order, and a son of his as resisting its execution, and to say which of them ought to prevail. Hādi was convinced, and confirmed al-Khuzā'i in his office. But the incident did not end here. When at home again and engaged in warming a cake for one of his children, al-Khuzā'i reflected that the Caliph was young, and that when carousing, and with the very people whom he had offended, he would only too probably be turned against him, and on hearing the noise of an approaching cavalcade he feared the worst. And it was the Caliph's retinue, which preceded his coming in person. For the same idea had occurred to him also, and he now told al-Khuzā'i that he felt certain of what must be passing in his mind, and that he had come to reassure him. And with this object he asked to be given some of the cake and eat it, thus confirming his promise by the obligations of hospitality. He then presented al-Khuzā'i with 400 loads of dirhams and with other marks of his favour.

The earlier part of this anecdote is the precise counterpart of the episode of Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne and Henry the Fifth. Shakespeare's story is admittedly unhistorical,¹ but he must have at least considered it to be plausible when the succession was from "Harry to Harry." That a similar story should be vouched for by Ṭabari as accompanying the succession of, as it were, "Amurath to Amurath," goes to show that much of human nature remains common to all in spite of diversity in race, manners, and government.

¹ The question is fully discussed in a paper by F. Solly-Flood, 1885, in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new series, iii, 47.

جارية شغب ام المقتدر

حدثني ابو بكر محمد بن عبد الباقي البزاز عن ابي القاسم علي بن المحسن التنوخي عن ابيه قال : حدثني ابو الفرج احمد بن عثمان بن ابراهيم الفقيه المعروف بابن النرسي قال : كنت جالساً بحضرة ابي وانا حدث وعنده جماعة فحدثني حديث وصول النعم الى الناس بالالوان الطريفة وكان ممن حضر صديق لابي فسمعه يحدث ابي قال : حضرت عند صديق لي من التجار كان يحرز بمائة الف دينار في دعوة وكان حسن المروءة ففدمت مائده وعليها ديكيزيده¹ فلم يأكل منها فامتنعنا فقال : كلوا فاني اأذى باكل هذا اللون . فقلنا : نساعدك على تركه . قال : بل اساعدكم على الاكل واحتمل الاذى . فاكل فلما اراد غسل يده اطال ففدرت² عليه انه فد غسلها اربعين مرة فقلت : يا هذا وجوست . فقال : هذه الاذية (47a) التي توقفت منها . فقلت : وما سببها ؟ فامتنع من ذكرها فالحمت عليه فقال : مات ابي وستي عشرون سنة وخلف لي نعمة صغيرة ومتاعاً في دكانه وكان خُلُقاً نبأ في الكرخ فقال لي لما حضرته الوفاة : يا بني انه لا وارث لي غيرك ولا دين علي ولا ظلمة قاندا انسا مت فاحسن جهازي وصدق عني بكذا وكذا وآخرج عني حجة بكذا وكذا وبارك الله لك في الباقي ولكن آحفظ وصيتي . فقلت : قل . قال : لا تسرف

¹ ديكيزيه . Schefer MS. ديكيزيه .

² فعددت . Schefer MS. فعددت .

فى مالک فاحتاج الى ما فى ايدى الناس ولا تجده وأعلم ان القليل مع الاصلاح كثير والكثير مع الفساد قليل فأتزمت السوق وكن أول تدخلها وآخر من يخرج منها وان استطعت ان تدخلها سحرًا بليل . فافعل فانك تستفيد بذلك فوائد تكشفها لك الايام . ومات فانفذت وصيته وعملت بما اشار به وكنيت ادخل السوق سحرًا واخرج منها عشيًا ولا اعدم من يجينى يطلب كفنًا فلا يجد من فتح غيرى فاحكم عليه ومن يبيع شيئًا والسوق لم تقم فابيعه له واشياء من هذه الفوائد . ومنى على لزومى السوق سنة وكسرو صار لى بذلك جاه عند اهلها وعرفوا استقامتى فاکرمونى .

فبينما انا جالس يومًا ولم تتكامل السوق اذا بامرأة راكبة حمارًا مصريًا وعلى كفله منديل ديبقى وخادم وهى بزت الفهرمانه فبلغت آخر السوق ثم رجعت فنزلت عندى فقممت اليها واکرمتها وقلت : ما تأمرين . وتاملتها فاذا بامرأة لم اقبلها ولا بعدها الى الآن احسن منها فى كل شئ فقالت : اريد كذا ثيابًا طلبتها . فسمعت نغمة ورايت شكلًا قتلتنى عشقها فى الحال اشدّ العشق وقلت : اصبرى حتى يخرج الناس فأخذ لك ذلك فليس عندى الا القليل مما يصلح لك . فاخرجت الذى عندى وجلست تحادثنى والسكاكين فى فوادي من عشقها وكشفت عن انامل رأيها كالطلع ووجه كدارة القمر فقممت لئلا يزيد على الامر فاخذت لها من السوق ما ارادت . وكان ثمنه مع مالى نحو خمسمائة دينار فاخذته وركبت ولم تعطنى شيئًا ونهب عنى ما تداخلنى من حبتها ان امنعها من المتاع الا بالمال او استدل منزلها ومن دار من هى فحين غابت

عنى وقع لى انها مُحْتَالَة وان ذلك سبب فقرى فاتحيرتُ فى
أمرى وقامت قيامتى وكتمتُ خبرى لئلا افتضح بما للناس على
وعملتُ على بيع ما فى يدى من المتاع و اضافته الى ما عندى من
الدرهم و دفع اموال الناس اليهم ولزوم البيت والانتصار على غلة
العقار الذى ورثته ووطنتُ نفسى على المحنة . واخذتُ اشرع فى
ذلك مدة اسبوع واذا بها قد نزلت عندى فحين رأيها انسيتُ
جميع ما جرى على وقمتُ اليها فقالت : يا فتى تاخرنا عنك
لشغل عرض لنا وما شككنا فى انك لم تشك اننا احتلنا عليك .
فقلتُ : قد رفع الله قدرك عن هذا . فقالت : هات التخت
والطيار . فأحضر به فاخرجت دنانير عتق فوفتنى المال باسره
واخرجت تذكرةً باشياء أخز فانفذتُ الى التجار اموالهم وطلبتُ
منهم ما ارادت وحصلتُ انا فى الوسط ربحاً جيداً . واحضر
التجار (476) الثياب فقممتُ وثمنيتها معهم لنفسى ثم بعته عليها
بربح عظيم وانا فى خلال ذلك انظر اليها نظرتالف من حبتها وهى
تنظر الى نظرى من قد فطن بذلك ولم تنكره فهممتُ بخطابها ولم
اقدم فاجتمع المتاع وكان ثمنه الف دينار فاخذته وركبت ولم
اسألها عن موضعها فلما غاببت عنى قلتُ : هذا الآن هو الحيلة
المحكمة¹ اعطتنى خمسة الاف درهم واخذت الف دينار وليس
لى الا بيع عقارى الآن والحصول على الفقر والمدقع ثم سمحتُ
نفسى برؤيتها مع الفقر . وتطاوت غيبتها نحو شهر والى التجار
على المطالبة فعرضتُ عقارى على البيع ولازمنى بعض التجار

¹ Schefer MS. المحنة .

ووزنتُ جميع ما كنت املكه ورقًا وعميًا . فانا بذلك اذ نزلت
عندى فزال عني جميع ما كنت فيه برؤيتها فاستدعت الطيَّار
والتحت فوزنت المال وورمت الی تذكرةً يزيد ما فيها على الفی
دينار بكثير فتشاغلْتُ باحضار التجار ودفع اموالهم اليهم واخذ
المتاع منهم وطال الحديث بيننا فقالت : يا فتی لك زوجة ؟
فقلتُ : لا والله ما عرفتُ امرأة قط . واطمعنی ذلك فيها وقلتُ :
هذا وقت خطابها والامساك عنها عجز ولعلمها تعود او لا تعود .
واردتُ كلامها وهنَّها وقمتُ كانی احث التجار على جمع المتاع
واخذتُ يد الخادم واخرجتُ اليه دنائير وسألته ان ياخذها
ويقتضى لى حاجة فقال : افعل وابلغ لك محبتك . ولا اخذ شيئاً
فقصتُ عليه قصتى وسألته توسط الامر بينى وبينها فضحك
وقال : انها لك اعشقت منك لها والله ما بها حاجة الى اكثر هذا
الذى تشتره وانما تحببك محبة لك وطريقاً الى مطاولتك
فخطبها بطرف ودعنى فانى افرغ لك من الامر . فحسرتنى بذلك
عليها فخطبها وكشفتُ لها عشقى ومحبتى وبكبتُ فضحكت
وتقبلت ذلك احسن تقبيل وقالت : الخادم يجك برسالتى .
ونهنست ولم تاخذ شيئاً من المتاع فردته على الناس وقد حصل لى
مما اشتريته أولاً وثانيًا الوف دراهم ربحاً ولم يحملنى النوم تلك
الليلة شوقاً اليها وخوفاً من انقطاع السبب بيننا .

فلما كان بعد ايام جآنى الخادم فاكرمه وسألته عن خبرها
فقال : هى والله عليلة من شوقها اليك . فقلتُ : اشرح لى
امرها . فقال : هذه مملوكة السيدة ام المقتدروهى من اخص

جواربها بها واشتبهت رؤية الناس والدخول والخروج فتوصلت حتى جعلتها قهرمانة وقد والله حدثت السيدة بحديثك وبكت بين يديها وسألته ان تزوجها منك فقالت السيدة : لا افعل او ارى هذا الرجل فان كان يتاهلك والا لم ادعك ورايك . ويحتاج ان نحتال في ادخالك الدار بحيلة فان تمت وصلت بها الى تزويجها وان انكشمت (48a) ضربت عنقك في هذا وقد نفذتني اليك في هذه الرسالة وقالت لك : ان صبرت على هذا والا فلا طريق لك والله الى ولا الى اليك بعدها . فحملني ما في نفسي ان قلت : اصبر . فقال : اذا كان الليلة فاعبر الى المخرم فادخل الى المسجد وبث فيه . ففعلت فلما كان وقت السحر اذا بطيار قد قُدم وخدم قد رفعوا صناديق فرغ فجعلوها في المسجد وانصرفوا وخرجت الجارية فصعدت الى المسجد ومعها الخادم الذي اعرفه فجلست وفترقت بباقي الخدم في حوايج واستدعنتي فقبلتني وعانقتني طويلا ولم اكن نلت ذلك منها قبله ثم اجلسني في بعض الصناديق وقفلته . وطلعت الشمس وجاء الخدم بثياب وحوايج من المواضع التي كانت انفذتهم اليها فجعلت ذلك (sic) بحضرتها في باقى الصناديق وقفلتها وحملتها الى الطيار وانحدروا . فلما جعلت فيه ندمت وقلت : قتلت نفسي لشهوة . واقبلت ألومها تارة واسجعها اخرى وانذر النذور على خلاصى واوطن نفسي مرة على القتل الى ان بلغنا الدار وحمل الخدم الصناديق وحمل صندوقى الخادم الذى يعرف الحديث وبادرت بصندوقى امام الصناديق وهى معه والخدم يحملون الباقي ويلقونها وكلما جازت

بطبقة من الخدم البوابين قالوا : نريد نفتش الصندوق . فتصيح عليهم وتقول : متى جرى الرسم معى بهذا ؟ فيمسكون وروحي في السيق الى ان انتهينا الى خادم خاطبته هى بالاستاذ فعلمت انه اجلّ الخدم فقال : لا بد من تفتيش الصندوق الذى معك . فخاطبته بلىين وذلل فلم يجيبها وعلمت انها ما دلت له وما لها حيلة واعمى على وأنزل الصندوق للفتح فذهب على امرى وبلت فزعاً فجرى البول من خلل الصندوق فصاحت بالاستاذ : اهلكت علينا متاعاً بخمسة الاف دينار في الصندوق ثياب مصبغات وماء ورد قد انقلب على الثياب والساعة يختلط الوانها وهى هلاكى مع السيدة . فقال لها : خذى صندوقك الى لعنة الله انت وهو ومرى . فصاحت بالخدم : احملوه . وادخلت الدار فرجعت الى روحى فبينما نحن كذلك ان قالت : واويلاه الخليفة والله فجانى اعظم (sic) من الاول وسمعت كلام خدام وجوارى وهو يقول من بينهم : ويلك يا فلانة ايش في صندوقك ارينى هو . فقالت : ثياب لستى يا مولاي والساعة افتحه بين يديها وتراه . وقالت للخدم : اسرعوا ويلكم . فاسرعوا وادخلتنى الى حجرة وفتحت عنى وقالت : اصعد هذه الدرجة الى الغرف وأجلس فيها . وفتحت بالعجلة صندوقاً آخر فنقلت بعض متاعها فيه الى الصندوق الذى كنت فيه وقللت الجميع وجاء المقتدر فقال : افتحى . ففتحته فلم يرض منه شيئاً وخرج . فصعدت الى جعلت ترشفتى وتقبلنى فعشت ونسيت ما جرى وتركتنى وقللت باب الحجرة يومها ثم جآتنى ليلاً فاطعمتنى وسقتنى (48b) وانصرفت . فلما كان من

غد جأتني فقالت : السيّدة الساعة تجي فانظر كيف مخاطبها .
ثم عادت بعد ساعة مع السيّدة وقالت : آنزل . فنزلت فاذا
بالسيّدة جالسة على كرسي وليس معها الا وصيفتان وصاحبتي
وقبلت الارض وقمت بيمين يديها فقالت : آجلس . فقلت :
انا عبد السيّدة وخادمها وليس من محلي ان اجلس بحضرتها .
فتأملتني وقالت : ما اخترت يا فلانة الاحسن الوجه والادب .
ونقصت فحأتني صاحبتي بعد ساعة وقالت : آبشرف قد اذنت لي
والله في تزويجك وما بقي الان عقبة الا الخروج . فقلت : بسلام
الله . فلما كان من الغد حملتني في الصندوق فخرجت كما دخلت .
بعد مخاطرة اخرى وفزع ثاني ونزلت في المسجد ورجعت الى
منزلي فتصدقت وحمدت الله على السلامة .

فلما كان بعد ايام جآني الخادم ومعه كيس فيه ثلاثة الاف دينار
عينًا وقال : امرتني ستي بانفاد هذا اليك من مالها وقالت : تشتري
به ثيابًا ومركوبًا وخدمًا وتصلح به ظاهره وتعالى يوم الموكب الى
باب العامة وقف حتى تطلب فقد واقفت الخليفة ان يزوجك
بحضرتها . فاجبت عن رقعة كانت معه واخذت المال واشتريت
ما قالوا بشئ يسير منه وبقي الاكبر عندي وركبت الى باب العامة
في يوم الموكب بزى حسن وجاء الناس فدخلوا الى الخليفة ووقفت
الى ان استدعيت فدخلت فاذا انا بالمقتدر جالس والقواد والقضاة
والهاشميين فهنئت المجلس وعلمت كيف اسلم واقف ففعلت
وتقدم المقتدر الى بعض القضاة المحاضرين فخطب لي وزوجني
وخرجت من حضرة . فلما صرت في بعض الدهايز قريبًا من الباب

عُدل بى إلى دار عظيمة مفروشة بأنواع الفرش الفاخرة وفيها من الآلات والخدم والقماش كل شئ لم أر مثلها قط فأجلستُ فيها وتُركتُ وحدى وانصرف من ادخلنى فجلستُ يومى لا أرى من اعرف ولم ابرح من موضعى الا الى الصلاة وخدم يدخلون ويخرجون وطعام ينقل وهم يقولون : الليلة تزف فلانة (باسم صاحبتى) الى زوجها البرّاز . فلا اصدق فرحاً فلما جاء الليلة اتر في الجوع وقُقلت الابواب وبأُست من الجارية فقمّت اطوف الدار ووفعتُ على المطبخ ووجدتُ الطباخين جلوساً فاستطعمتهم فلم يعرفونى وفدّرونى بعض الوكلاء فقدّموا الىّ هذا اللون من المطبخ مع رغيفين فأكلتها وغسلتُ يدى باسنان كان فى المطبخ وفدّرتُ انها قد نقيت وعدتُ الى مكانى . فلما جنى الليل اذا طبول وزمور واصوات عظيمة واذا بالابواب قد فتحت وصاحبتى قد اهديت (49a) الىّ وجاؤوا بها فحلّوها علىّ وانا اصدّر ان ذلك فى النوم فرحاً وتُركت معى فى المجلس وتفرق البوش . فلما خلونا تغدّمت اليها فقبلتها وقبلتنى وشمت لحيتى فرستنى فرمت بى عن المنضّة وقالت : انكرت ان تفلح يا عامى يا سفلة . وقامت لتخرج ففمتُ وعلقتُ بها وقبلتُ الارض ورجليها وقلت : عترينى ذنبى واعملى بعده ما شئت . فقالت : ويحك اكلت فلم تغسل يديك . فقصصتُ عليها قصتى فلما بلغت الى اخرها قلت : وعلىّ وعلىّ . . . فحلّفت بطلاقها وطلاق كل امرأة اتزوّجها وصدقة مالى وجميع ما املكه والحج ماشياً على قدمى والكفر بالله وكل ما تحلف المسلمون به الا اكلت بعدها ديكيزيده الا غسلت يدى اربعون مرة فاستحييت وتبسمت وصاحت : يا جوارى . فجاؤا مقدار عشر جوار ووصايف

وقالت : هاتوا شيئاً ناكل . فقُدمت الوانُ ظريفة وطعام من اطعمة الخلفاء وغسلنا ايدينا وغنى الوصايف ثم قمنا الى الفراش فدخلتُ بها وبثُ ليلة من ليالى الخلفاء .

ولم تفرق اسبوعاً وكانت يوم الاسبوع وليمة هائلة اجتمع فيها الجوارى فلما كان من غد قالت : ان دار الخليفة لا يحتمل المقام فيها اكثر من هذا فلو لا انه استودن فاذن بعد جهد لما تمّ لنا هذا لانه شئ لم يفعل قبل هذا مع جارية غيرى لمحبة سيدتى لى وجميع ما تراه فهو هبة من السيدة لى وقد اعطتنى خمسين الف دينار من عين وورق وجوهر ودنانير ودخاير لى خارج القصر كثيرة من كل لون وجميعها لك فآخرج الى منزلك وخذ معك مالاً واشترِ داراً سريّة واسعة الصحن فيها بستان كبير كثيرة الحجر فاخرة الموقع وتحول اليها وعرفنى لانعد هذا كله اليك فاذا حصل عندك جيّثك . وسلّمت التى عشرة الاف دينار عينا فحملها الخدم معى وابتعتُ الدار وكتبتُ اليها بالخبر فحملت التى تلك النعمة باسرها فجميع ما انا فيه منها . فاقامت عندى كذا وكذا سنة اعيش معها عيش الخلفاء ولم ادعُ مع ذلك التجارة فزاد مالى وعظمت منزلتى واثرت حالى وولدت لى هاوولا الفتيان (واومى الى اولاده) ثم ماتت رحمها الله تعالى وبقي على من مضرة الديكيزيده ما شاهدته .

(وفى الحاشية) هذا الحكاية ذكرها بعض المؤرخين وسماها لهذه الجارية قمر .

XIV.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT OF YASNA XIX, 12-58,
FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TRANSLATED.¹

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

Zarathuštra addresses Ahura Mazda.

ZARTUŠT² asked of Aūharmazd thus: O Aūharmazd, Spirit (good) and bountiful, Creator of the bodily worlds, holy, [this (is: hanā=aē for aēγ, that is to say, the meaning is this), that it is Aūharmazd (who is) the holy Creator, not merely 'the bodily worlds' which are holy; the rest is for (ordinary) praise. Some (text)³ says (i.e. reads) 'dātār, aharūv' '⁴ (so putting the aharūv' of the text in unmistakeable position as applying to Aūharmazd)].⁵

¹ The texts from which this translation is made appeared as edited with all the MSS. collated in the "Festgruss" of Professor Kern, of Leiden, so far as from 1 to 11, inclusive, with the exception of some unsightly but now necessary glosses, and from 12 to 58 in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, October, 1903. Translations into Parsi-Persian, Sanskrit, and Gujrati from texts not collated, and otherwise not of a critical character, have alone preceded this.

² In order to include a gloss omitted in the section 1-11, above referred to, I cite 1-5 from the "Mélanges Kern," 1903, p. 145.

³ Referring to other MSS. So it is far better to understand the frequent expression 'there is who says.'

⁴ This gloss, from our old MSS. in Oxford, DJ. or J², was omitted both in text and translation from the work already cited.

⁵ This section in the original Yasna is of special importance, as it contains an attempted explanation of the Avesta in the Avesta itself; and also because the Ahunavairya prayer (though only a post-Gāthic piece in the metre of the Ahunavaiti Gātha) has, owing to its terms (see the translations), been supposed to have some analogy with the Logos of St. John. This supposition was, however, critically groundless. The words 'Ahuna-Vairya' had become abbreviated into Hono-ver; and this has later been seriously mentioned, even by great authorities up to the present date, as bearing upon the question of the introduction to the Fourth Gospel, and other Semitic features. The square brackets are the glosses, and the parenthetical curves contain my explanations.

His question : The Word spoken before the Creation ?

What was that word, Aūharmazd, which Thou didst speak to me (3) before the Heaven, and before the Water, and before the Earth, and before the bountiful Herd, and before the Plants, before the Fire, Aūharmazd's Son, before the holy Man Gayōmart, (2) before the Demons who are of 'scattered wit,'¹ and before later Men, and before all the Bodily World [(and before) the creation of their (i.e. of men's) sovereignty over it], before all the wealth provided by Aūharmazd which is derived from the manifestation of Aša, the Angel of the Holy Law?²

Ahura answers.

Aūharmazd also said to him thus: that Section is from the Ahunaver, O Spitāma Zartūšt, which is spiritual, by which they would make the Law advance, when that Dēn was constructed from the Ahunaver by which it was declared to thee.³

12. Aūharmazd further answers.⁴ . . . Who also in this my bodily World, O Spitāmān Zartūšt, undertones a section from this (my) Ahunaver, that is to say (as when), they would make it familiar (by committing it to memory), and would curtail it (in so doing); that is to say, as when one speaks it (that is, any portion of it) apart (and separated) (13) either so much as a half, or so much as a third, or so much as a fourth, or so much as a fifth; that is, if one (i.e. if a reciter) holds up (hardly 'maintains') it in the course of recitation to the degree of a fifth of it (as in the last item cited), and so (also in the first case) it will become half-full if celebrated (here returning to the first item as above; that is to say, when one omits one half, beginning with the

¹ Of course an error corrected by me in 1892-94: see *Gāthas* at Y. 28, 5, pp. 8 and 398.

² This stands for universal regularity of conduct.

³ For the translations of 5-11, which are important, see the "*Mélanges-Kern*," Leide, 1903, pp. 146-147.

⁴ See the "*Mélanges Kern*," pp. 145-146.

second half, all this is sin); but when it is entirely omitted (spoken separated; see above), this is (the unpardonable sin of) Tanapuhar (that is to say, the sinner cannot cross the Judgment Bridge of Chinvat on account of it).

The Punishment.

(14) (In these cases) I, who am Aūharmazd, will (then, on this account) draw off his soul from the Best World, that is to say, I would make it (his soul) apart from Heaven, (15) and by that drawing off (which is) as much in length and breadth as this Earth (is long and broad); and this Earth is also that much long as (is) its breadth.

The Commentary begins.

(16) This is the Word (which has been) pronounced, the Dēn of the possession of (that is to say, which vitally concerns the status of) the 'Ahū'¹ (that is to say, it is the religious formula which has the signal word 'Ahū' in it), the Ahū of (the Dēn), and of the possession of its 'Ratū' (i.e. which has its signal word 'ratuš'²) [from which (occurrence in this piece so sacrosanct) this is clear, that the (temporal) King and the (spiritual) Dastūr are to be supported (and maintained)].

This Section of the Ahunaver was announced before the Heavens.

(17) And this was also so pronounced before that Heaven ('before yon Heaven') was created, and before the Water, before the Land (hardly 'the Earth' here), and before the Plants,

(18) before the creation of³ the quadruped⁴ Bull, the one (first) created Bull,

¹ See the words 'yaθā ahū . . .'. Here begins the Commentary proper upon the Ahuna Vairya.

² See the word ratuš in 'yaθā ahū ratuš . . .'.

³ Notice min = 'of' used to express the gen. which is generally expressed by either 'position' or by 'i.'

⁴ The type of quadrupeds representing all of them.

(19) before the creation of the Sacred Man, the (type of) biped [(meaning) before the creation of Gāyomart (the 'Lifeman'; i.e. the first recipient of human life)],
 (20) before that Sun of sublime body (or 'of body created' (?)) [the body of the Sun] for the especial acquisition¹ of the Bountiful Immortals.

(21) Forth to me² with bountifulness (or 'holiness') and in the interests of the spiritual life,³ to me it was said [that is, for the sake of furthering bountifulness (or 'holiness') and the spiritual interests it was possible to tell me]
 (22) concerning all that belongs to the world of the Saints, [to Zartūšt (it was) told] (concerning the world of the Saints) who are, and who have been, and who are coming into being,

(23) with regard to 'the course of action,' [that is to say, with regard to it they should do⁴ (i.e. do thou do⁵) what is manifest from it (as duty) 'also let good works be theirs'] with regard to this action 'in the world⁶ towards Aūharmazd,' [that is to say, they should do⁴ (or 'do thou do')⁵ what is due to Aūharmazd,⁶ so also they should do (or 'do thou do') unto Him as it is clear duty from (i.e. in accordance with) this Fargard].

¹ Recall the Angel of the Apocalypse whose position was in the Sun

² Aside from the original we should of course read 'Forth I said', see Nēr. But the gloss in 22 should control what precedes, we not forgetting that the terms of such translations should not hinder a rational exegesis so long as it is at all possible. Otherwise we should merely report 'Forth with my bountifulness and in the interests of the spiritual life, I said.' We might indeed regard the gloss in 22 'av' Z gūft' as offering an alternative and so translate 'Undoubtedly I said' is more natural for 'am gūft' (so Nēr) than 'to me he said', but then 'to me' or 'my' looks better for 'li' than Nēr's *ahum*, i.e. in view of the original 'me'. So 'am tāvan gūftan' more naturally equals 'it is possible to me to tell' than 'it is possible to tell to me'. Nēr's blunder in rendering 'me' induces an inconsistency only to be relieved by force.

³ Lit. 'spirituality', 'the interests of Heaven'

⁴ See *syaoθnotaitya syaoθnanam*

⁵ These forms in -ānd and -yēn are evidently indefinite, and afford us a good example of the reason of their use as imperative 2nd singulars, 'they should do' is 'one should do,' and then 'do thou.'

⁶ See *Anhēuš Mazdāi*.

Immortality is given through the devout pronunciation of the Ahunaver.

24. This portion of the Ahunaver thus far elucidated, is also the most of a word in effect (to secure an answer to our prayers) of (all) those words which he (or 'one') ever¹ pronounced, while now he speaks it forth (i.e. 'recites it') up to this point; (and it is also the most efficient which) is pronounced, i.e. which is now being pronounced, and (also which will be pronounced) from this (or from this time) on. (25) For this is so much a word in efficiency as that if all the bodily world (26) learn it (so that it is really) learned, [i.e. (if) they would make it thoroughly easy (through memorising it verbally)], and keep it thus, [that is to say (if) they would take their stand upon it,] this would become to them the possession of an existence apart from passing away (*sic*), [that is to say, they (would) become immortal (through pronouncing it as thus fully learned)].

(27) And this our word is pronounced by us [as the Dēn. Māhvindāt (a Commentator) said (that the word in question) was just this Fargard (in its entirety)]. He who learns it, [that is to say, (if) they should commit it to memory (lit. 'thus make it easy')]; and he who recites it (as thus memorised), [that is to say, he (who) pronounces this (word) 'straight on' within the Yasna], so (doing), each one of existing (persons) whose is Aša Vahišta (or 'who are inspired by him,'² A.V.) becomes immortal thereby (see below).³ [That is to say, should they completely celebrate a single Yasna, to that person (i.e. 'to those persons') let it belong (i.e. let the reward mentioned above, i.e. immortality, be his).]

¹ One naturally supposes from this word 'ever' that reference is made to the whole Ahunaver and to all possible inspired utterances. Otherwise the thoughts of the composer seem to rest on the word *syaoθnanām* (see 'pavan kartūm') as the most efficient expression in the prayer. Possibly one idea occurred to one author and the other to a later reviser.

² So if reading 'min', see *ashātēit*.

³ It is not at all necessary to suppose that a dull superstition is here expressed. The Ahunaver, if thoroughly learned and acted upon, would of course lead the soul toward Heaven.

[(The meaning) is (that) when one pronounces this particular¹ (27) (word) in the Yasna a person's soul becomes immortal thereby.]

(28) As this (section) is pronounced here ; (viz.) that (the Ahū and the Ratū), that is, that the (temporal (?)) Lord the Ahū and the (spiritual) Lord (the Ratū), the Dātōbar, are to be maintained (in the dignities and emoluments of their office) [as this thing is so said as this lore (i.e. this expression of legal opinion)] so (teaches) (29), and when also he (the personal offerer) gives to this Ahū and (to this) Ratū (the temporal Lord, and to the spiritual Dātōbar (the ruling Priest)), [i.e. when he (the disciple) devotes his person (his personal attention) thoroughly to the spiritual studies (to the complete acquisition of technical religious knowledge)], then also it is taught by him (the leading spiritual Instructor) to that one (the other), the offering and studious disciple, that 'Aūharmazd mēnešn' the thought of (?) Aūharmazd² is the cogitation³ (of one thinking) about the First Creatures, [that is to say, the Gāthic lore has been made current (and progressive) by him (for it concerns especially the beginnings of the creation of the creatures, and because he (the person who thinks, here supposed to be the speaker) has devoted his attention to priestly studies which concern most of all the doctrine of the creation)].⁴

(30) He who assigns his person [to him who is the King of Kings], the greatest of all [men, so that it (his body) is possessed by the King of Kings⁵ (i.e. so that his personal force and devotion is possessed by Him), just so that lore⁶ (or 'body') is assigned by him (the religiously educated and

¹ aē denā = lit 'this that.' See where 'actions' are insisted upon

² See 'mazdām manas' The reader should bear in mind throughout that the Pahlavi translations here as elsewhere are seldom strictly correct as regards the ultimate points of the syntax. Their great value consists in evidence as to presence of textual terms and of their precise meaning. See the critical translation in SBE. xxii at the places, pp. 259-266.

³ This looks as if 'the thought of Aūharmazd' was regarded as being shared by his faithful worshipper. Or meaning 'thought with regard to A.'

⁴ See Gāthas at Y. 28, 11, etc.

⁵ Here feeling the influence of xšaθrem ča.

⁶ The Gāthic lore here referred to is the Ahuna-vairya, which is regarded as its epitome, of course erroneously.

intelligent disciple) to the creatures of this One (the King of Kings); that is to say, the Gāōic lore¹ has been made current by him (the devoted offerer) among the creatures (after he has learnt it and intoned it himself; see above)].

(31) He who (describes) the² amenities of life (was *χšaθrem* so understood?) to Aūharmazd, [that is to say, (he who) places them (or, 'considers' their beginning or foundation) to be within His possession (to give)] (does so) in accordance with the word 'vanhēuš' (see again the vanhēuš of the text) [which (is) in (this) section]. Here (is) that which (is) the third sacred injunction, [it is its beginning (see the second line of the Ahuna)]. He who delivers an intonement with vahōman (see again the words vanhēuš (dazda) mananhō, the 'vahōman' of the Ahuna-vairya Pahlavi Text), [that is to say, he who utters an atonement which is straightforward (that is to say, coming on to vanhēuš without interruption)], and (when the celebration) is also (in so far) performed by him, (when) also that is proclaimed onward (or 'taught') by him here which is in accordance with vahōman (see again the vanhēuš dazdā mananhō of the Zend text); [that is to say, (when) they give (see dazdā) that recompense and reward which is in accordance with vahōman (then they give rewards which is his also to this person who so pronounces the vanhēuš dazdā mananhō and duly celebrates the Yasna passage in which it occurs (see above))].

(32) And he who makes a sign (perhaps here some regulated gesture³ or posture; but see the original; a sign) which is (arranged) with reference to the word 'vahōman,' [that is to say, they would provide the thing that is correct with a gesture (or 'demonstration,' or sign)³; (and when)

¹ The Gāōic lore here referred to is the Ahuna-vairya, which is regarded as its epitome, of course erroneously.

² There is no *hujitiš* = 'amenities' in the Ahunaver. The force of vanhēuš = 'of the good' may have been felt, so influencing the idea of 'government' as 'good-government,' thus bearing on the idea of amenity.

³ So I think better as more realistic (see the word 'actions') below; but Nēr. understood perhaps something like 'explanation,' 'who performs a thing which is more upright with a demonstration.' So; and not perhaps meaning a physical gesture; see also the original. (Or did Nēr. mean 'provide with a sign'?)

also it is done by him (that is, 'when the sign is made by him')]] so with this was the summing up. [That is to say, this its end (that of this particular thought) was on] with (the words) 'of actions' (see *syaoθnanām*, which may mean of 'actions' (in the course of this celebration of the *Ahunaver*')).]

33. Here (in the words) 'within the world' (so again referring to the word *anhēuš* of the Avesta text as meaning 'belonging to the world,'—here) was their summing up¹ (the summing up of the terms as in so far tentatively explained); [that is to say, it was its end (the end of the ideas involved in the second line of the *Ahuna*; see the texts)]. 34. Here was the summing up of them in it (or 'by the persons (explaining)'), [that is to say, it was the end of it], (34) whereby (the reciter) assigns the Creatures (so as feeling the influence of *dazda* again) to Him who is *Aūharmazd*² (see *mazdāi*).

34. (So), when (the reciter) assigns them, the creatures to Him (*Aūharmazd*) as that which is His own creation (that of *Aūharmazd* Himself), [that is (to say, the meaning of that assigning is) this: by and in this he announces that men also are a thing (*su*) which, (as) one says, (is) what thus comes back purely (and entirely) into the possession of *Aūharmazd* (from whom it first issued forth when they recite '*anhēus dazdā mazdāi*'), as (the word) '*Aūharmazd*' (see *mazdāi*) is purely (i.e. 'simply and significantly') presented (by the reciter in the course of the solemn recital)].

35. (And) the Sovereignty is assigned by him (the reciter or the inspirer) to *Aūharmazd* (see *χšaθrem Ahurāi* = 'the Kingdom to Ahura' (so proceeding to the third line)) [that is to say, *Aūharmazd* is made King over his own body by him (the reciter), by which (or 'when') they would effect (that) which is evident from (i.e. as meant by that passage

¹ This word 'summing up' is a mistake, owing to the outward shapes of '*kārayēti*' which suggested '*angartāgih*', but it is still acceptable enough as a free translation.

² Recognises His act of creation.

of) the Avesta]. Also (the further meaning) of it is this : 'by him (the reciter, or, 'by it the passage') happy relief is here indicated for the poor,'¹ [that is to say, a (real) benefit has been done by him (the reciter, or the inspirer) thereby to the poor],¹ (36) which ('benefit') is a friendship of Spītāmān (as the representative of Aūharmazd toward the poor¹; a most striking and deeply significant element in the Religion). And (thus) the Dēn (the Religion) of Spītāmān was a five-fold code of distinctions (dātōbarih), [that is, for him there was a five-fold distinction within it].

37. All the utterance (of the Ahunaver) was a forth-utterance (meaning a continuous unbroken recitative announcement). The entire announcement was Aūharmazd's (or concerning Aūharmazd's attributes as expressed in the five points above alluded to).

38. For the sake of an increase (of prosperity, vahištō being so understood through an error, which occurs more than the once), [for the sake of (advancing) the progress of the Creatures] Aūharmazd pronounced the Ahunaver. So also its summing up was with (a word meaning) ['increase,' that is to say, the end of it was on (with this word. See the vahištō of the Zend Text, here again erroneously or freely referred to vaxš = 'to increase.')]]

Angra Mainyu intervenes.

39. Quick was the smiting,² [that is to say, the assaulting enemy plunges into the midst (lit. 'among,' and) that (which follows) is just spoken as an interdict³ of the wicked [(as) a separating (anathema)]].

The Interdict.

40. That (meaning 'this' was) the Interdict, (which is recorded in the Gāthas ; see Yasna, 45, 2) :⁴

¹ Referring to the original noble passages of the Avesta, see Gāthas, xxxiv, 5, pp. 136, 501, and lxx, 9, pp. 390, 619, etc.

² Zanešn' is not strictly correct for akō.

³ The interdict was of course also spoken 'among' the wicked.

⁴ See Gāthas, p. 220 and p. 540.

41. Neither our thinking, nor our teaching (are in-harmony). [I have not taught what thou hast taught;] nor (are) our understanding(s) (in harmony), [for I have my understanding with propriety, and thou hast (thine) with impropriety];

(42) Nor are (our) desire(s), [for my desire is a wished-for thing which is proper and thine (is) improper]; nor is (our) speech (harmonious), [for I speak that which is proper; and thou speakest that which is improper]; nor are our deed(s) (in harmony), [for my action is proper and thine is improper]

(43) Nor is (our) Religion [for my Dēn is the Gāthic and thine that of sorcery] Nor are [their] souls in harmony, nor their self (selves *su*, or 'their especial interest'), [for they who take¹ their stand upon my interest,² and they who take their stand upon thine their souls are not in this (same) place.

He who said 'this' (i.e. the text which reads as above, namely, he who reads the word *hanā* = 'this,' meaning) that even their souls (the souls of these) are thus; he must also say (i.e. that text must also be so read), thus 'Our Souls are not in harmony' (All this evidently meaning to explain that a text which reads 'not' in this place must be understood as meaning 'not (in harmony).') This is to explain the absence of a word 'one' or 'the same', that is, it should have read 'not in the same place.' Had the word 'same' or 'one' been added, the passage would have needed no explanation.)

The Connections of the Ahuna-varya.

(44) Also this word which Aūharmazd spake has three rules, (and) concerns four officers, [the Priest, the Warrior, the Husbandman, and the Artisan], and five Chieftainships, [the Householder, the Head of the Hamlet (or Vis), the Head

¹ Literally, 'for he who takes . . .'

² Nēr. takes it for granted that 'upon this thing' means upon the 'Dēn' (naturally enough).

of the Zand (the village or township (*sic*)), the Governor of the Province, and the Zarahuštrōtema]; and its completion (the completion of this word of the Ahunaver) is made full with an offering; and so of one's-self; [(that is to say, in the case of the particular offerer at any given time, personally and spontaneously) it is necessary (so) to do when they make an offering of the person to the Herbad]; (that is to say, when they present themselves for priestly discipline and instruction).

Catechetical Zand upon the Ahuna-vairya.

Questions asked to bring out the definite meaning.

(45) What is that Rule? (see above where the Three Rules are mentioned).—*Ans.* The Good Thought, the Good Word, and the Good Deed.

And this meaning is what?—*Ans.* Propriety within the Rule of the Dēn.

(46) Which (are) the Calling(s)?—*Ans.* The Priest, the Warrior, the Husbandman, and the Artisan.

47. (These are the Four), since through every day and night (these Classes are at hand and present) with the Saint (that is to say, with the orthodox Citizen) of truthful thought, of truthful word, and of truthful deed, (48) who has kept in memory¹ the Spiritual Chief; [that is to say, who supports the Dastūr (Destoor)] who is taught of the Dēn. [That is to say, (when) the Yašt has been celebrated by him] (49) from whose actions results the progress of the settlements of Aša; [i.e. that is to say, this result (as above described) is from his deeds (in celebrating this Yašt and in acting in accordance with it)].

50. Which is the Spiritual Chief?—*Ans.* The House-Chief, the Hamlet- (or Vīs-) Chief, the Zand- (or village- (township-)) Chief, the Province-Chief, and the Zartūšt (or 'the Zarahuštrōtema'), the Fifth.

¹ Possibly 'who recited the Office', this, notwithstanding the gloss, which may be always later. Nēr. has, however, *gurupātīte*, 'made to read by the Guru.' In the gloss *gurusaṃyukte*, 'united,' that is 'in accredited relation' with the Guru.

(51) (That is to say, it is thus with) those Provinces which are other than the *Raya* which (is) *Zaraθuštrian* (or possibly 'the *Raya* of *Zartūšt*'). A four-chief (province) (is) the *Raya* of *Zartūšt*.¹

(52) Which (are) the Spiritual Chief(s) of that (Province, i.e. of *Raya*)? (The question is repeated in order to make way for the important explanation about the Four-chief-Province.)—*Ans.* The House-Chief, the *Vis*-Chief, the *Zand*-Chief, and the (?) *Zartūšt* as the Fourth; [that is to say, since he was in his own Province (that is, he was there as the hereditary bearer of the title). (And) an arrangement was even made with reference to him; which (is, that he, i.e. his successor the reigning *Zartūšt*) will become (that is, 'will continue') 'on to be' the Fourth (and not the Fifth Chief, there being no need of a separate office which would be that of a 'Fifth Chief' as in the other Provinces. The *Zaraθuštra* resident at *Raya* makes a separate officer of that name unnecessary in that City and in its Province)].

53. How does the matter stand when the question is as to the Good Thought (as involved in this four-fold polity of the *Zaraθuštrian* State, thus by this question bringing the idea of the 'Ahuna-ver' once more to bear upon these all-important offices); [that is to say, how was this arranged when he (the Saint or the Law-giver) stood upon the track² of the Good Thought³ of the *Dēn*]?—*Ans.* It was when (it, 'the question,' or when he, the Regulator,) was (i.e. had reference) to the Saint who was the first thinker⁴ (of that good thought); that is to say, when he was with *Gayōmard*; [that is to say, when the questioning had reference to him,

¹ This clearly shows that *Raya* had exceptional claims to be associated with *Zaraθuštra*, if only traditionally, as his birthplace. Each Province evidently had a Fifth supreme Spiritual Officer called the '*Zaraθuštra*.' But in *Raya* some traditional religious (or family) descendant of the great Prophet evidently resided. So that a fifth on whom the title had been bestowed by appointment was not needed in *Raya* as in the other Provinces.

² This expression 'track' looks as if the translator's thoughts were here turning toward the Other World. Compare the expressions 'star-track,' 'moon-track,' etc., in the *Ardā-i-Vīrāf*.

³ See '*manānhō*' again.

⁴ The first point after the Introduction being *vanhēu dazdā manānhō*; see the expression *manas paōiryō* (*etc.*), referring again to the prior position of the word *manānhō* in the formula.

the first man, he (the Law-giver) also thought of him (Gayōmard; that is to say, he especially directed his attention to him)].

(54) How (in reference to) the Good Word (when the Good Word¹ was considered, that is to say: How does the matter lie with reference to the Four-fold Polity with regard to the veracity or verbal amenities of the citizens)?—*Ans.* (This was considered when the Manthraspenta (the Sacrosanct Lore) was originated and maintained) [until now²].

(55) How did the matter stand when (they considered) the Good Deed?—*Ans.* (This was done) when (there was a) praising of the creatures (which held) Aša indeed to be the first.³ [That is to say, when they would celebrate the other Yasna³ also which is a good work⁴ in (the course of the) Gāθa-service (or 'in accordance with the Gāθic doctrine').]

(56) Aūharmazd made a proclamation; for the sake of what interest did he proclaim it to him (Zartūšt)?—*Ans.* For the sake of the sacred interest of Heaven (i.e. of the purely religious interests; lit. 'of the spirit') and of the World (that is, of legitimate worldly interests), [even for the sake of the benefit of the spirit, (i.e. of Heaven) and of the World].

(57) For the sake of what desired⁵ object of His did He pronounce it (the Word), [i.e. for the sake of what necessary⁶ object did He pronounce it to him (Zartūšt)]?—*Ans.* In order that there may be a King who is an increaser of (the people's) prosperity; [and he (that is 'one') who is able to carry out his purposes as a lord of desire].⁷

¹ Generally speaking, the concrete, i.e. 'the man of true speech,' is to be preferred, but here the 'good speech' is best.

² Hardly 'as our share' reading *xelkūn*, for *av' kevan'*; Nēr. does not render.

³ 'Aša indeed as the first' may allude to the 'Ašem Vohu' formula in the mind of the Commentator, but see *Ashātāt* as the first *Ameša* mentioned in the *Abuna*.

⁴ The word *hūvaršt* (see *syaoθnanām* again) may also have recalled the 'ašem vohū vahīstem' (*hū* = *vohū*).

⁵ This curious error arose from the resemblance of *-ōvās* to *vās* = *vanōc* = 'to desire.' Nēr. follows it.

⁶ This gloss seems intended to remove any ambiguity from the word *kāmākīh*, which might possibly be thought to refer to 'caprice' (P).

⁷ Having in mind *aēša-xšaθrem* of Y. 29, 9, as to which see *Gāθas* at the place.

(58) How many¹ (ahunavers) [is it fully necessary to say] for the benefit of the Saints (the orthodox Rulers)?—*Ans.* (So many) as until the Ruler who is without desire² (that is, without force to carry out his desire²) becomes (by this means) a (vigorous) augments³ (of prosperity; or *vice versa*, 'until the increaser becomes a ruler without desire'²; that is to say, 'one who has nothing left to desire of others,' or 'nothing left to be desired').

(58 *continued*) [(The meaning of it all is) this. He who makes this prayer manifest (through its celebration or 'fulfilment' (?), i.e. he who completes it); that is to say, (he who manifests) the glory of the Kayāns so (by realising the object of the prayer), how (does he do it) in the case of good Kings? so also, what with evil rulers?—*Ans.* So⁴ (when he is dealing) with good Kings (he acts) with this result; viz., that they may do more good (by means of this devout celebration in their favour, and when he has to do) with evil Kings (he will act) with this effect; that is to say, until they may do less evil (so the Kayān glory of the Kings is furthered)].

¹ Or 'how much of it', see *Ner.*'s 'kiyat.'

² It would be still better to read the original āvasō, and not avasō = 'with power in accordance with his desire.' 'Without undue or wanton desire' would be a poor rendering even for the u-priv. form.

³ A form of vaś 'to increase' being again seen in *vahištō*.

⁴ Literally 'thus' (the meaning is 'this').

XV.

THE INDIANS IN ARMENIA. 130 B.C.—300 A.D.¹

By J. KENNEDY.

THE existence of an ancient Indian colony in Armenia is well known to Armenian scholars, but Indianists have paid little attention to it. We owe our knowledge of it to Zenob, a Syrian, and a native of Glak (Klag), which Mr. Ellis suggests may be the Armenian equivalent of Kerak. Zenob became an ecclesiastic in an unknown town of Cappadocia called Nystra, and was the companion of St. Gregory the Illuminator on an idol-smashing tour through Armenia, about the year 304 A.D. By St. Gregory's command he wrote an account of this expedition to his Cappadocian brethren, and in it he gives a lively account of the Illuminator's little war with the Indian idolaters of Tarôn (Darôn). Zenob's history, composed originally in Syriac, has come down to us in an Armenian version, which has suffered from revision. It has been twice translated into French, and part of it into English. Zenob's work has the charm and freshness of a contemporary narrative, and throws a good deal of light on the early history of monachism and the worship of relics. He was well

¹ Very various methods are in use for the transliteration of Armenian texts. Mr. A. G. Ellis has very kindly gone over this paper, and supplied me with the transliteration of the proper names in accordance with the system in use at the British Museum; the transliterations of Prudhomme and Avdall are occasionally added in parentheses. I have to thank Messrs. Grierson and Rhys Davids for suggestions regarding Prakrit and Pali forms; and Mr. W. Williams for the following bibliography: J. Avdall, J.A.S.B., vol. v, 1836, p. 331 ff., E. Prudhomme, "Histoire de Darôn par Zenob de Klag" (Journ. Asiatique, 1863, p. 401 ff.); V. Langlois, "Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie," Paris, 1867, tome i, p. 336 ff.; M. J. Seth, "History of the Armenians in India," 1897; Emin, "Recherches sur le Paganisme Arménien," Paris, 1864, pp. 30-31; a passing reference by Lassen, Z. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. i, p. 233. There are also references in Ritter's "Erdkunde" and some other works on Armenia.

acquainted with the Indians he mentions, as he was for twenty years Abbot of the Convent of the Nine Springs, founded by St. Gregory on the site of the Indian temple. The convent became one of the most famous in Armenia, and was popularly known from the time of Zenob as the convent of Glak.

Zenob's story is briefly this. Two Indian chiefs, Gisanê (Kisanê) and Demetr (Témétr), rebelling unsuccessfully against the king Dinaskhé (Dinaskey), fled westwards with their clan and found shelter with Valarshak, or Valarsaces, the first Arsacide monarch of Armenia (149-127 B.C.). Valarsaces gave them the canton of Tarôn¹ for a residence, and there they founded the town of Vishap or the Dragon. In the neighbouring town of Ashtishat, the pantheon of all the gods of Armenia, they set up replicas of the idols they had worshipped in India.² Fifteen years later the king of Armenia put Gisanê and Demetr to death, but their sons Kouar (Guëvar'), Meltes (Meghtes), and Horian continued to hold the canton of Tarôn, and divided the land among them. They founded three villages which were named after them, Kouarkh, Meltes, and Horiankh. They also erected two

¹ Tarôn was a district of hills and plains on the upper Euphrates, lying westward of Lake Van. It was half Syrian in character, and adjoined the country afterwards occupied by the Mamikonians, a famous Chinese family who fled to Armenia in the early part of the third century A.D. The district is now known, Mr. Ellis tells me, as the district of Moush, and was the scene of some of the recent Armenian massacres. Moush is mentioned by Zenob, but it was not then the chief town of the district.

² I agree with Avdall and Lassen that these idols were named Gisanê and Demetr. But Emin says: "Nous trouvons ces efforts d'assimilation complètement inutiles par la simple raison qu'il est nullement question dans le récit de Zenob de deux divinités indiennes s'appelant Kisané et Témétr. Ces deux noms n'étaient que ceux des deux pères, premiers émigrants de l'Inde. Après qu'ils furent tués sur l'ordre du roi d'Arménie les fils transportèrent les idoles de leurs héritaires d'Achichat sur le mont Kurké, et depuis lors ces idoles furent connues des habitants du pays de Darôn sous une dénomination générale des dieux pères Kisané et Témétr" ("Recherches sur le Paganisme Arménien," pp. 30-31). But Zenob, after describing the idols of Gisanê and Demetr and the fate of the idolaters, goes on to say: "Voici du reste l'origine des idoles existant en ces lieux [i.e. of Gisanê and Demetr]. Etant venus à Aschdischad, ils y érigèrent ces idoles sous le nom de celles qu'ils adoraient dans l'Inde." In the next paragraph he says that "Guëvar' Méghdès et Horian se rendirent sur la mont K'arké. Ils y érigèrent deux idoles, l'une sous le nom de Kicané, l'autre sous celui de Témétr," etc. (J.A., 1863, pp. 454-455). There is nowhere mention of any others than these two, or of any idols left at Ashtishat. I have not seen Emin's book, and have to thank Mr. Williams for the extract.

temples to their gods Gisanê and Demetr on Kharkhê, a grassy hill with woods and springs, which overlooked the Euphrates; and these temples became the sacred seat and the rallying point of the clan. The descendants of Kouar, Meltes, and Horian were the priests of the idols, and twelve villages were assigned for the maintenance of the temple service. We hear nothing more of these Indians until St. Gregory appeared with 300 men to overturn their faith. The people flew to arms, and the first outbreak of the popular fury obliged St. Gregory to take refuge in a friendly castle. Both sides received reinforcements, desperate battles were fought, and over a thousand men fell. Artzan,¹ the chief priest, and his son Demetr were slain in combat, having exhibited a courage worthy of heroes. The Indians were overpowered, but they still implored that their idols might be spared. Six priests fell at the temple door, another died under torture without revealing the treasury of Demetr. The Christians then proceeded to break up the copper statues of the gods, which were 12 and 15 cubits high. The temples were razed to the ground, and on the site of Demetr's temple St. Gregory erected a church, while a wooden cross marked the place where Gisanê's idol had stood. More than 5,000 idolaters submitted to baptism, and 438 persons, the sons of priests, or temple servants, who remained obdurate, had their heads shaved and were transported to Phaitakaran, near the shores of the Caspian.²

Zenob gives us various details about these Indians. They were black, ugly, and long-haired ("noirs, chevelus, et difformes"). The long hair was a sacred badge. Gisanê was represented with long hair, his worshippers all wore it long, and Zenob tells us that even after their conversion the Indians secretly kept to their former cult and made their

¹ Artzan = idol or statue. Armenians, and even Armenian Christians, used it sometimes as a personal name. Mr. Ellis has pointed out to me an instance in Moses of Khorene.

² Phaitakaran is the territory inclosed by the junction of the Kûr and the Ceras, and is the Bailagân of the Arab geographers. No European traveller appears to have visited its ruins.—*Mr. Ellis's note.*

children wear long hair. The priests were of the lineage of the chiefs, and perhaps claimed to be descended from the gods. They can, therefore, have had no Brahmans. They must have abandoned, in great part at least, their native speech, since they used proper names like Artzan; but their features were markedly different from their neighbours. They remained a separate people, although their chiefs had become connected in some way, probably by marriage, with the neighbouring chief of Hashtiankh.

From these certain conclusions may be drawn. (1) These Indians were an aboriginal tribe, i.e. they were non-Aryans. Their black skins and ugly features, as well as the absence of Brahmans, prove that. (2) They wandered to Armenia in the reign of Valarsaces, 149-127 B.C. This is the period when the Śakas were invading and Greek princelings harrying Kabul, the North-Western Punjab, and the Indus Valley. It is reasonable to suppose that they fled in consequence of these troubles; and their flight to Armenia is paralleled by the subsequent flight of the Mamikonians from China. (3) They called their first town Vishap—the Armenian equivalent for Nagpur. They must, therefore, have been worshippers of the snake. The Punjab, Kashmīr, and the Indus Valley are still strongholds of this worship. And as these Indians had no Brahmans, and the Brahmans were strong in the North-Western Punjab, it is probable, I think, that this tribe came from the Indus Valley.¹

Can philology help us any farther? Dinaskhê and Horian cannot be identified—Mr. Ellis says that the termination *khê* “is very largely used in forming names of territories or tribes”—and it is therefore possible that Dinaskhê represents, not the proper name of a king, but the ruler of a tribe of somewhat similar name.² Kouar is probably the Prakrit

¹ Seth's conjecture that they came from Kanauj is not only unsupported by evidence, but is contrary to all probability. Kanauj was not at this time a place of importance, and the emigrations from it do not begin until eight or nine centuries later.

² Mr. Grierson suggests some connection with the Sakas. I would rather suggest a connection with the last part of the word *Μακεδόνες*—the Macedonians—the name by which the Bactrian Greeks were known.

Kuar, the Sanskrit and Pali Kumāra, a young prince. Meltes—Avdall's Meguti—may be a derivative from the Sanskrit *mahat*, 'great.' Kuar and Mahto are still honorific titles in daily use.

Demetr and Gisanê (Kisanê) are names common to gods and men. Demetr must be some compound of Mitra, perhaps Devamitra, but about Demetr we have no details. It is different with Gisanê. He had long hair, he struck his enemies with blindness and death, and his votaries worshipped him with their faces to the west. Lassen suggested long ago that Gisanê might be Krishna, and although the usual Prakrit (and Pali) form is Kanha, Kisina is admittedly a probable corruption, and occurs in names like Kesin and Kisen. The similarity of sound is confirmed by the similarity of attributes. Krishna was the 'dark' god, the god of the underworld and of the setting sun, the peculiar god of Dvaraka, where the sun sets in the sea. He was identified with Dionysos by the Greeks, and he possesses the same attributes of love and dance and song and death—lord of the dark region where the germs of all things are quickened. A god who faces towards the west, and who inflicts blindness and death, is near akin to such a god. In after times the priests of the Sun-god of Multan protected their town by threatening to exhibit his idol; he, too, darted darkness and death. Both Demetr and Gisanê were probably forms of solar deities.

But we are not left entirely to speculation, for a passage in Arrian's "Indica" (c. 7) places the identity of Gisanê and Krishna beyond question. Arrian, quoting Megasthenes, says that Dionysos "instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god"; therefore Dionysos is Gisanê, and Gisanê must be Krishna.

Krishna's hair was braided. Both Gisanê and these Indians had long, and as Avdall puts it, braided hair: it was their sacred and especial mark. The Rajputs are the only clans of Northern India who have always made long hair their boast, and cultivated it as sacred. The Tamils wear long hair; so did certain ascetics; and the Sikhs do the

same. But the Sikhs are mostly of Jat origin, akin to and imitators of the Rajputs. And the residue of the Tamils who dwelt in the Indus Valley has been long ago absorbed and Hinduised. Colonel Tod has some wonderful speculations on the westward migrations of the Yadavas in pre-Christian times. He would probably recognise in these Armenian Indians some connection of the Yadavas, for the Yadavas dwelt on the lower Indus, and were the fellow-countrymen and worshippers of Krishna. But whether they were Yadavas or not, I think we may conclude with considerable probability that the Armenian Indians came of the same aboriginal stock from which many of the western Rajput clans were subsequently developed.

Apart, however, from these speculative conclusions, we gather three interesting facts. First, Gisanê, Krishna, and Dionysos are three interchangeable names of the same deity. Second, the statues of Demetr and Gisanê are among the earliest Indian idols of which we have any detailed account. And they are not Brahmanical. Thirdly, although the westward migration of these Indians cannot have been the first of its kind, it is the earliest we know of. Such migrations have been comparatively rare, but the gypsies, and the 200,000 Indians carried captive by Timur to Samarkand are other instances in point. On the whole we have to thank Zenob for having preserved an interesting little bit of history.

XVI.

A PROJECTED EDITION OF THE *MUFADDALIYAT*.

By SIR CHARLES LYALL.

IN 1885 Professor Heinrich Thorbecke, then of Heidelberg, published the first part of his edition of the collection of selected ancient Arabic poems (الاختيارات, or المختارات, or القصائد المختارة), made, at the instance of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, for the instruction of his son, afterwards the Caliph al-Mahdī, by Abu-l-'Abbās al-Mufaḍḍal, of the tribe of Ḍabbah (died 168). This collection, more generally known as the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, consisted, according to the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (p. 68), of 128 poems, of which the published portion contains 42. In January 1890, Professor Thorbecke died, and the edition has not been carried further.

The MSS. which he had at his disposal were the Berlin codex,¹ containing the odes with the commentary of al-Marzūḳī (died 421), which formed the basis of the edition, and the Vienna and London (Brit. Mus.) MSS., both recent copies of originals in the East, the former of one at Constantinople and the latter of one at Baghdad. These two contain only short glosses in explanation of the poems, and follow a different order (see below) from that adopted by al-Marzūḳī. The Berlin codex is unfortunately very incorrect, besides being defective at the end, and it would have been impossible to print the commentary from it as it stood.

Before Prof. Thorbecke's most lamented death, however, he had acquired a copy, made for him in 1887 and 1888, of the Cairo MS. of the commentary on the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*

¹ Described in Ahlwardt, *Six Poets*, preface, p. xx.

by al-Anbārī; and since then another copy of the same commentary, procured in Egypt by Count Landberg, has passed into the possession of Yale University, U.S.A. A second MS. with short glosses, dated 1067, and in its general character resembling the Vienna codex, also formed part of the Landberg collection, and is now at Yale. Five other MSS., moreover, exist at Constantinople, and have been described by Dr. Haffner in the Vienna *Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, xiii, p. 344, one at least of which gives the commentary of al-Anbārī in its complete form. In 1308 there appeared at Constantinople the first volume of an edition containing the poems in the text and order of al-Anbārī, with an abridged commentary derived from that scholar's work.

From an examination of these new materials it appears that, apart from al-Marzūkī's commentary, all the other current editions of the collection, mostly exhibiting short glosses, are based on the text and commentary of al-Anbārī. The glosses in the Vienna, London, and Yale (2) MSS. are all drawn from this source, and the abridgment of the printed Constantinople edition is taken from it with little or no variation. Further, in the numerous citations of poems belonging to the collection contained in 'Abd-al-Kādir's *Khisānat al-Adab* the commentary of al-Anbārī is invariably quoted, almost always in a complete form. This commentary, therefore, may be regarded as the standard text and exposition of the *Mufaddaliyāt*. And had Professor Thorbecke had in his possession the materials which are now available, it can scarcely be doubted that he would have decided to print al-Anbārī's text, and probably also his commentary, rather than to abide by the text of al-Marzūkī, of considerably later date, and contained only in one faulty codex.

In 1895 I proposed to the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* to continue Thorbecke's edition, and my offer was accepted. Circumstances, however, prevented me from carrying out this project. Later on, when I finally retired from the Indian Civil Service, I resumed it, and had then

to consider what course should be adopted — whether to complete the work on the plan followed by Thorbecke, of giving only the text, with extracts from the commentaries in the separate notes, or to begin again with a fresh text, each verse followed by its commentary, based upon the standard recension of al-Anbārī. In favour of the first course was the natural piety due to the memory of a great scholar and beloved colleague, whose work, the outcome of so much labour and in itself so admirable, would otherwise remain incomplete. In favour of the second was, in the first place, the fact that al-Marzūkī's text, which follows a different arrangement from that of all other available MSS., is incomplete in the latter half, and thus unfit to form the basis of an edition; and next, the conviction that, for the right understanding of ancient Arabian poetry, we cannot afford to neglect such sources of information as the early commentaries furnish. In al-Anbārī's work we have, moreover, not only a compilation of the greatest importance to the interpretation of the poems, but also a text guaranteed by an unbroken succession from al-Mufaḍḍal himself. Al-Mufaḍḍal, who died in 168, had for his continuator his stepson Ibn al-A'rābī (died 231); from the latter the tradition was carried on by Abū 'Ikrimah 'Āmir b. 'Imrān aḡ-Ḍabbī; and from Abū 'Ikrimah, al-Anbārī (died 304) received it. The *Fihrist* is explicit in pointing to Ibn al-A'rābī as the source of the only correct text (p. 68):—

و للمهدى عمل [المفصل] الأشعار المكناة المسماة المفصلات
وهي مائة و ثمانه و عشرون قصده و قد نزيد و نقص و سقدم
و تاخر بحسب الرواية عنه و الصحيحه النى رواها ابن الاعرابى

As has already been mentioned, al-Anbārī's commentary is the source from which nearly all the glosses in later copies of the collection are derived. Although in places prolix, and (like most native commentaries) full of repetitions and superfluous matter, it contains much valuable lexical material; and it has the great merit of almost always citing the

authority for the various interpretations given, and thus enabling us to estimate the weight to be attached to each.

After much deliberation, and consultation of those best qualified to give advice, I have decided upon the second course—to publish al-Anbārī's text and commentary in full. The work is well advanced. I have been favoured by Yale University, to which my hearty thanks are due, with the loan of the two Landberg MSS., of which I have made a transcript and collation. I have also had at hand, through the kindness of Dr. J. Hess, of the University of Fribourg, a copy of the Constantinople edition of 1308; and the Council of the German Oriental Society have been good enough to place at my disposal the collections upon which Professor Thorbecke worked, containing his transcripts of the Berlin and Vienna MSS. and a copy by the late Professor W. Wright of the London MS., besides the copy of the Cairo MS. already mentioned. I have also to thank the Royal Library at Leipzig for the loan of the very ancient fragment (dated 472) of al-Anbārī, containing (in whole or part) five of the poems with their commentary. With these aids, and with the assistance of other works such as the *Aghānī* and the *Khuzānah*, and the numerous citations in the great lexicons and other treatises on the language of the ancient poems, I hope to constitute a trustworthy text. If it should hereafter prove possible to obtain a collation of the original MSS. at Constantinople, this will be an additional guarantee of the greatest value.

In the *Fihrist* (p. 75) the commentary on the *Mufaddaliyāt* is ascribed, not to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim al-Anbārī, but to his son Abū Bakr Muḥammad, commonly called Ibn al-Anbārī (271–318). In the *Khuzānah* it is cited under the latter's name; and in the *Lisān al-'Arab* (s.v. عود, vol. iv, p. 314) and *Tāj al-'Arūs* he is also quoted as the author. In the Landberg MS., however, the book is ascribed, in the title of each volume and the colophon of the whole work, to the father; and the same is the case with the Leipzig fragment, which contains the beginning and end of the fourth volume of a codex originally consisting of four

volumes.¹ The preface appears to leave no doubt as to the real state of the case, and I therefore quote it entire:—

أخبرنا أبو بكر أحمد بن محمد الجراح الخزاز قراءة عليه قال
حدثنا أبو بكر محمد بن القاسم الأنباري قال قرأت على أبي هذا
الكتاب الشعرو التفسير والمحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على
سيدنا محمد النبي وآله وسلم كثيراً سرمدًا دائمًا وحسبنا الله ونعم
الوكيل * قال أبو محمد² القاسم بن محمد بن بشار الأنباري أُملى
علينا عامر بن عمران أبو عكرمة الضبي هذه القصائد المختارة
المنسوبة إلى المفضل بن محمد النضبي أملاً مجلساً مجلساً من
أولها إلى آخرها وذكر أنه أخذها عن أبي عبد الله محمد بن زياد
الاعرابي [وهو] ذكر أنه أخذها عن المفضل الضبي * قال أبو محمد
وكنيت أسئل أبا عمرو بندار الكرخي³ وأبا بكر العبدى وأبا عبد الله
محمد بن رستم والطوسي وغيرهم عن الشيء بعد الشيء منها
فيزيدونني على رواية أبي عكرمة البيت والتفسير وأنا أذكر ذلك
في موضعه إن شاء الله * فلما فرغنا منها صرت إلى أبي جعفر أحمد
ابن عبيد بن ناصح فقرأناها عليه من أولها إلى آخرها شعرها وغريبها
فانكر على أبي عكرمة أشياء أنا مبينها في مواضعها ومسند إلى أبي
جعفر ما فسروا روى في موضعه إن شاء الله والمعين الله جل وعز
والحول له والقوة به * وعمود الكتاب على نسق أبي عكرمة وروايته *
قال أبو بكر بن الأنباري قال أبي وحدثت أن أبا جعفر المنصور تقدم

¹ The colophon of this MS. is the oldest extant testimony on the subject; it reads thus:—

تَمَّتِ الْقَصَائِدُ الْمَفْضَلِيَّاتُ وَهَذَا آخِرُ مَا صَنَعَهُ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ الْقَاسِمُ
بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ بِنِ بَشَّارِ الْأَنْبَارِيِّ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ

² MS. بن القاسم.

³ MS. بندر الكرخي.

الى المفضل في اختيار قصائد للمهدى فاختر له هذه القصائد فلذلك
نسبت الى المفضل * قال أبو عكرمة الضبي قال ابو عبد الله بن
الاعرابي قال المفضل الضبي قال تابط شرا الخ

Here it is plain that the whole form of the work is due to the father, Abū Muḥammad, who claims to have received the text and the exposition of it from Abū 'Ikrimah ad-Ḍabbī, and then to have consulted various other authorities whom he names, who added material both to the text and the commentary (*al-baṭ wat-tafsīr*) as rendered by Abū 'Ikrimah. He then submitted the work to Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. 'Ubaid, and went with him through the whole, text and commentary alike. Abū Ja'far corrected Abū 'Ikrimah in various points, which are set forth in their proper places. The basis of the book (*'amūd al-kitāb*) is the text and commentary of Abū 'Ikrimah, and the rest is supplementary to it.

Nothing can be clearer than this. But the son adds at the beginning that he read through the book, text and commentary, with his father; and there are throughout the work occasional (but very few) remarks evidently added by the son, generally beginning *qāla abī*, or *qāla Abū Bakr*; one of these, it will be seen, occurs at the end of the preface. It may, therefore, be concluded that, while the book is the work of the father, it has been revised and edited by the son, and carries the authority of the latter as well as the former; whence it happens that the references to it generally name the son, who was the better scholar and more celebrated man of the two.

I have thought that it would be of interest to Arabic scholars to learn that this important work is being prepared for publication; and if any of those who read these lines are able to indicate MSS. or published works not known to me which should be consulted, I shall thankfully profit by their assistance.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

EDV. LEHMANN ZARATHUSTRA. En Bog om Persernes gamle Tro. Vols. i-ii. (Kobenhavn, 1899-1902.)

Some of the oldest and best manuscripts of the Avesta are in the possession of the Copenhagen University Library, and the first complete edition of the text is due to the Danish scholar Westergaard. Since his time Danish scholars have always taken a keen interest in the study of Zarathustra's religion. The latest and best result of this interest is the work which Dr. Lehmann has laid before the public.

Dr. Lehmann has devoted many years to the study of the Avesta. His philological Guru is Professor Geldner, of Berlin, and it is not difficult to trace the influence of the master in the exactness of his methods. Dr. Lehmann does not, however, approach the Avesta principally as a philologist. His point of view is, above all, that of the history of religious ideas. With regard to the various questions about Zarathustra's date or the locality in which he lived, he does not profess to furnish new materials. The development of religious ideas, on the other hand, and their relation to the national character of the Persians, has been traced with great ingenuity and learning, in a lively and pointed style. It is a pity that the book is not accessible to those who do not know Danish, and it would certainly be worth while to prepare an English translation of it.

S. K.

PAUL DEUSSEN. ERINNERUNGEN AN INDIEN. (Kiel und Leipzig: Lipsius & Tischer, 1904.)

English literature abounds with books that exhibit a similar title. But there will be none similar in contents. For Professor Deussen, well known through his masterly publications on general and Indian philosophy, has been travelling as a *Vedānta missionary*, who knows how to find a spiritual bridge between Christian and Hindu thought. And he most vividly describes the intimacy which all over India he obtained with his Vedāntic brethren and with native scholars and other types of people. The book closes with an Appendix, written in English, "on the philosophy of the Vedānta and its relations to Occidental metaphysics." It does not matter much that the author, when touching politics, naturally speaks a little too much in favour of Hindu views against the English. He also proves himself no particular friend of the Ceylonese Buddhists, as he estimates them chiefly according to their moderate ability in *speaking Sanskrit*. As to this, the writer of these lines, when thanking the author for a copy received, remarked: "If those Buddhists were to judge *you* from your proficiency in speaking *Pāh*, they might perhaps be obliged to speak even less favourably of you than you do of them." Anyhow, the book under notice certainly deserves some attention also on the part of the *English* public. It may even be expected that by and by it will be turned into English and into some of the Indian vernaculars. Though it is a beautifully bound volume, numbering 256 pages, and containing sixteen extra leaves with photographic views, its price is only about six shillings.

ERNST LEUMANN.

Strassburg University.

DIE RELIGION BABYLONIENS UND ASSYRIENS, von MORRIS JASTROW, Jun., Professor der semitischen Sprachen an der Universität Pennsylvania. 2 und 3 Lieferungen. (Giessen: Ricker, 1902-3.)

The continuation of the German translation of Professor

Jastrow's "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria" makes upon the reader, the more he studies it, the impression that it is a work of the highest importance, and indispensable to all whose speciality is the history of religion. The book shows an enormous amount of systematic research, and furnishes the material wherewith to form an opinion concerning the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians at various periods of their long history. The amount of information it contains is large, and the discussion of comparatively unimportant details, though somewhat confusing to the comprehension of the whole, gives it an additional value, for none can know to what important fact a detail, rightly understood, may ultimately lead.

Speaking of the goddess *Ištar*, the author points out that *Innana*, *Nanâ*, *Nina*, and *Anunit* are all designations of that goddess, and that it is best to regard them as being local names. There seems to have been a tendency to look upon her as the one great female divinity, hence the use of the word *ištarit* as synonymous with *iltu*, 'goddess.' In the author's opinion she has her own sphere, and carries on her existence without any connection with a masculine deity. With regard to this it may be noted that the name of *Tammuz*, her spouse, occurs as early as the time of *Lugal-anda* and *Uru-ka-gina*,¹ and notwithstanding that we have no records proving the existence of the well-known legends concerning *Ištar* and *Tammuz* at that early period, there is every probability that they had already taken form. It is true that *Tammuz* seems not to have attained a greater importance in Babylonia than did *Adonis*, his counterpart, in Greece, but the goddess of reproduction and the god of the recurring seasons represent ideas so closely related that they could not reasonably be separated—they are, in fact, complements of each other.

The monograph on the god *Anu* at the earliest period of Babylonian history is especially noteworthy. The goddess *Bau* was his daughter, and *Nin-giš-zida* his son, whilst

¹ Regarded as having reigned 4,000 or 4,500 years B.C.

Nannar, the moon, in the inscriptions of Ur-Engur, is called "the mighty steer of Anu," proving that the last-named was already, at that early date, the god of the firmament.

Professor Jastrow's researches lead him to the conclusion that in the earliest times the worship of the heaven-god was not in special favour. This would be due to the fact that a god of the heavens is an abstract idea, and could not become a popular belief. In the time of Hammurabi, Babylonia's great lawgiver, things had changed somewhat, and political concentration in the Euphrates-valley brought to a focus the intellectual life of the land. The author is of opinion that the manner in which the name Anu is written in the Babylonian inscriptions of that period indicates that the people had not yet reached the abstract principle which lies in the idea of a god of the heavens, notwithstanding that a certain amount of personification was unavoidable. The spelling referred to is the use of the characters 𐎶 𐎵, *anna*, the word for 'heaven' as a material idea—the vault which we see over our heads. It is doubtful, however, whether much can be based on this evidence, as it may be merely a device of the scribes to avoid writing the determinative prefix of divinity, i.e. 𐎶 𐎵 instead of 𐎶 𐎶 𐎵, D.P. *An-na*, or 𐎶 𐎶 𐎵 𐎵, D.P. *A-na*, just as we meet with 𐎶 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎵, *An-nu-ni-tu*^m, instead of 𐎶 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎵, D.P. *A-nu-ni-tu*^m, the goddess Anunit. The author mentions that the goddess Bau is called "child of Anu," but this he regards as an indication of the personification of the heavens without deification.

Among the minor deities whose names are discussed may be mentioned Nin-šah, the latter component of whose name means, he points out, 'wild swine,' regarded, he says, as holy by the Babylonians, as also by other nations. The eating of its flesh was forbidden on certain days of the year, reference being made to the calendar in the fifth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 48, where, for the 30th day of Ab, there are the words "the flesh of

a swine he shall not eat, *maškadu* (? gout) will seize him." For the 27th of Tisri, however, in addition to pork, beef is mentioned: "the flesh of a swine, the flesh of an ox, he shall not eat—the face is dark," i.e. trouble will result. It seems probable, however, that these are rather of the nature of general recommendations than prohibitions, and may, perhaps, be addressed to a class of persons—the tablet whence they are taken seems to have belonged to one of a class of agriculturalists attached to the temple of Nebo—and not to the whole community.

The worship of Nebo, which was most popular in Babylonia, and also much favoured in Assyria, owed its popularity, Professor Jastrow thinks, to the fact that, as god of Borsippa, he stood in close connection with Merodach. This is in all probability true, but it must not be forgotten that all the gods of Babylonia were identified with Merodach after he became the national god of the Babylonians, and that Merodach, with the attributes of Nebo, the god of writing, literature, knowledge, wisdom, trade, and commerce, would, from the mere possession of these attributes, acquire considerable favour. Naturally Nebo's pre-eminence came comparatively late, when the necessity of furthering the worship of Merodach no longer existed. In this connection the author points out that Hammurabi seems intentionally to have ignored the worship of Nebo, and it is noteworthy that though that king mentions, in the introduction to his laws, Nebo's city Borsippa and its temple, the name of the god does not appear.

The history of the worship of Nebo and its political signification are well described, its importance being evidenced by the fact that it was on a distant mountain named after him that Moses, the great Hebrew law-giver, died.

The extent of the subject is shown by the wealth of detail which the book contains, and the number of references which the author has found it necessary to insert, though these might have been extended. Separate chapters are devoted to the pantheon of the time of Hammurabi and the gods of

the second rank of his time, between which comes a chapter upon the gods of the temple-lists (preceding Hammurabi), of the juridical and mercantile records, and the official letters (of Hammurabi's time). In the chapter upon the remains of animism the various demons are spoken of, as well as the Anunnaki and the Igigi. The latter are described in the texts as the gods of the heavens, whilst the former were apparently regarded as the gods or spirits of the earth, and it may be noted that as Anunna is found instead of Anunnaki, the ending *aki* is in all probability simply a termination, of which the syllable *ki* is generally dropped. The meaning would then be simply 'the gods of the great waters,' as has been already suggested, and, if it be correct, possibly designates the gods of the earth as those who brooded over the deep at the creation, when as yet no land had appeared. Their mention at the coming of the Flood would seem to confirm this. The Igigi were 'the great princes' of the gods, but there is much uncertainty as to the meaning of the name. Taken separately, its elements mean 'five one one,' pointing, according to Hommel, to the use of the numeral 'five' as a separate group, from which Jensen contends that there was at first a five-day week, replaced later on by one of seven days. Other inscriptions give the Igigi as eight in number, whilst the Anunnaki are said to have numbered nine. Professor Jastrow's twelfth chapter, which is not finished in the third *Lieferung*, deals with the Assyrian pantheon, which differed from that of Babylonia in many essential particulars.

The book is a mine of information upon the religious beliefs of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and will long remain the standard work upon the subject. As far as published it contains 224 pages, and there are seven parts still to come, so that its extent may easily be judged. There is no doubt that this German edition will be a great advance on the English original, and, in addition to many extra chapters, pictures of the divinities of Babylonia and Assyria are promised, provided sufficient subscribers to this can be obtained.

T. G. PINCHES.

T. J. DE BOER. THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY IN ISLAM.
Translated by E. R. Jones, B.D. pp. 216. (London:
Luzac & Co., 1903.)

A handbook of the philosophy of Islām has long been a desideratum, and this subject is now dealt with for the first time in a special volume. Munk's sketch, to which the author alludes in his opening words, is only part of a larger work, and has moreover become rather rare. Yet Dr. de Boer is hardly justified in describing his book as the *first* attempt (since Munk) to present in connected form a history of philosophy in Islām. In the second volume of Stockl's *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* the principal Arab philosophers are discussed at some length. This work has, however, two disadvantages. In the first place, its material is not drawn from originals, but from Latin versions, and in the second place it ignores the whole of the early period of the development. Dr. de Boer's book not only excels in fulness of matter, but also in inner unity, and shows clearly the growth of Moslim philosophy from the first timid expressions to a world of thought teeming with life and movement.

Dr. de Boer has called more attention than any of his predecessors to those conditions which prepared the Moslim to develop a philosophy. The majority of earlier students laid too much stress on the theological aspect of the question, although there is no doubt that theology gave a powerful impulse to metaphysical speculation. A kind of *Weltanschauung* existed in Arabia even in pre-Islamic times, and found expression in the ancient poetry as well as in the Qorān. A people without book literature is, of course, unable to condense its leading ideas into anything like a system. Certain notions about the structure of the universe, the beginning and end of things, and the destiny of man were rife among the people. These are distinctly reflected in the Qorān. The idea of the Logos appears in it under three different names, of which *Kalām* is one. The employment of this term for what Dr. de Boer calls

'*Theological Dialectics*' has, therefore, its root in the Qorān itself. Something similar may be said of the problem of human free-will. Dr. de Boer would find difficulty in proving that its discussion only came into prominence under the influence of Christian dogmatics. The earlier portions of the Qorān contain passages to the effect that "every man is hostage for what he deserves" (Sura lii, 21, and often). This doctrine also permeates the older Rabbinic literature. It would not, perhaps, have assumed such importance in the Mutazilite *Kalām* had not Mohammed subsequently (probably from political reasons) changed his attitude and reduced man's free-will to a mere shadow. These instances show that the stimulus to philosophic discussion was not, in the first instance, imported from abroad.

Dr. de Boer appears to be the first to give a systematic exposition of the theories of prominent Mutazilites, and the pages devoted to them are both instructive and interesting. He then shows how Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic ideas lifted Moslim thought beyond the pale of mere theological quibbles and landed it on the more solid ground of the study of nature. This led to the formation of the society of the 'Brethren of Purity' (as they should be called, rather than 'Faithful Brethren').

During this period there arose the first 'real Peripatetic' in Islām, viz. al-Kindi (ninth century), who, in his person, furnishes the proof of the rapidity with which the Arabs had become imbued with the spirit of Greek science. He was a man of such comprehensive learning that Arab literateurs styled him 'the Philosopher.' He was the first eminent Arab mathematician. His works are, unfortunately, lost, but the influence he exercised on the further development of studies among his countrymen was enormous.

In the chapter on al-Farābi we miss an allusion to Steinschneider's great book on his works. There is also a contemporary of al-Farābi who has hitherto been neglected in all expositions of Arab philosophy, although he deserves to be mentioned. His name was Abu Ja'kub Ishāq b. Soleimān

al-Isrā'īli, and the fact that he was a Jew does not affect the matter, as his philosophy has no religious colouring whatsoever. He was body physician to Obeid 'Allāh, the founder of the Fatimide dynasty at Kairowān. He was also the author of a great work on "Fevers," and wrote a "Book of Definitions" in Arabic. Of the latter work only a fragment of the original has been preserved, but a complete Hebrew translation of it exists in print. Beginning with a discussion of the terms philosophy and philosopher, he, in short paragraphs, takes the reader over all branches of philosophy, thus giving a small philosophic encyclopædia, always adding his own views. Ibn Sina seems to have been influenced by his conception of nature and psychology.

One of the great merits of Dr. de Boer's book is that the names of Moslim scholars who have hitherto been little known outside the circle of students of Arab literature have been introduced into it. Ibn al-Haitham's work on "Optics" secures him a place among path-finding scientists, and he enjoyed an undisputed authority in Christian Europe for many centuries. Not less pleasing is the circumstance that the reader of Dr. de Boer's work is made acquainted with the name of the learned and ingenious Ibn Khaldūn, himself a prominent historian. At his epoch Islām had run through an eventful history of more than six centuries. Being a keen observer and independent critic, Ibn Khaldūn remained unaffected by the theological reaction created by al-Ghazālī. The marvellous literary activity of the Arabs in all branches of learning, which so largely benefited European culture, had been fertilized by Greek thought. The Arab influence did not stop even after the collapse of Aristotelian philosophy in Europe, and many traces of it exist to this day. Thus they returned with interest what they had borrowed from Europe. Dr. de Boer has embodied an enormous amount of material in a comparatively small volume. What he says is so clear and concise that the attentive reader cannot fail to derive instruction in one of the finest chapters of human thought.

Special gratitude is due to the translator for the excellent English version, which makes this important work accessible to all who are not able to read the original.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

SAMYUTTA NIKĀYA GĀTHĀ SANNAYA. By SŪRIYAGODA SUMANGALA BHIKKHU. 8vo; pp. 160. (Printed at the Jināḷankāra Press, Colombo, 1903.)

This is an edition, with word for word translation into Sinhalese, of the verses in vol. i of the Pāli Text Society's edition of the Samyutta, pp. 1-142. I have collated about one-fourth of it with Léon Feer's edition, and find it is very well done. It often gives better readings, though the differences are not noted. About half a dozen times an alternative reading to the one adopted is given in a note,* but there is no mention of the manuscript authorities used or referred to. Nevertheless, the work will be of considerable use, as it gives the traditional readings and meanings, as handed down in Ceylon, of these verses, often as difficult as they are interesting. A notice in Sinhalese on the cover states that it is only the first fasciculus of a work intended to include all the verses in that Nikāya, and that part ii is in the press. The author, who is resident at the Śrī Vardhana Ārāma Vihāra at Kolupitiya, Colombo, is well known as one of the most promising younger scholars in the island, and we congratulate him on this fresh proof of his activity. The work is, of course, primarily intended for use in Ceylon, but it would be wise to put on the cover of part ii, in English, the price, in English money, at which European scholars could purchase copies. It would also be a great improvement if the author would, at the end of each Sutta, give us, in brackets, the volume and page of M. Feer's edition. Thus, on p. 57, after Jarā-suttaṃ, the figures (1. 38). At present it is not easy to find out where, in this new edition, any particular verse in the old edition can be found. We trust that this important and interesting undertaking will soon be continued and finished.

RH. D.

THE LAWS OF MOSES AND THE CODE OF HAMMURABI. By
 STANLEY A. COOK, M.A. (London: Adam & Charles
 Black, 1903.)

All those who know Mr. Stanley Cook's work would naturally expect something of importance upon the subject with which this book deals, and they will not be disappointed. The work is full of information, stated in such a way as to be comprehensible to all, and the comparisons are made with that critical acumen which is distinctive of the author.

Concerning the question of the origin of the dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged, there is probably much more to be said than the author has stated in the first two chapters of his work, but it is doubtful whether a definite answer could be given, even were all our knowledge brought to bear upon it. Nevertheless, it is one which has considerable importance for the origin of Babylonian law, as Mr. Cook justly points out. With the exception of the names of Apil-Sin and Sin-muballit, Hammurabi's father and grandfather, all the names contained in his dynasty, his own included, have a foreign look, but whether they are Amorite or Arabic is difficult to decide, notwithstanding that the reference to an Arabian dynasty (the names of whose kings, by the way, as far as they are given, are of a distinctly late form) by George the Syncellus has often been cited in connection therewith. Samsu for Šamšu, in the names Samsu-iluna and Samsu-ṭitana,¹ is noteworthy, as well as the element Ammi in Ammi-ṭitana and Ammi-zaduga (= Ammi-šaduqa), which is regarded by Hommel as the Babylonian form of the Arabian deity 'Amm; and if this explanation be correct, a more strongly-pronounced form of the name occurs in the first element (Ḥammu) of Hammurabi itself, which is once spelled Ammurabi, and also, to all appearance, Ammurapi, in a letter which probably belongs to the time of Aššur-bani-āpli. The author notes the explanation given by the Assyro-Babylonian lists,

¹ A variant (*titana*) seems to show that this is the correct transcription, not *Samsu-satana*, *Ammi-satana*.

Ḥammu-rabi being explained as Kimta-rapaštum, 'the wide-spread family,' and Ammi-saduga¹ as Kimtu^m-kittum, 'the just family.' Such names as these are naturally very strange, and Hommel justly regards the renderings here quoted with suspicion.²

Though it cannot be decided whether the kings belonging to this dynasty came of Arabian or Amorite stock, their foreign origin would seem to be certain, and this notwithstanding that they were called the 'dynasty of Babylon.' Their origin, however, hardly affects at present the question of the derivation of the Code of Ḥammurabi, which was probably a native production—in any case, we are not in a position to prove that it was of foreign origin. The civilization of Babylonia, indeed, goes back so far, and the influence of the country was so wide, that they were in a position not only to become their own law-makers, but also to give laws to other nations. For the same reason, moreover, they would themselves, in consequence of the commercial activity of those early ages, come under the influence of other nationalities, not only on the west, but on the east also,³ and this could easily have led to modifications, and even changes, in the laws of Babylonia.

We are accustomed to regard the Israelites as being a nation among whom a world-renowned code of laws had sprung up, revealed to them through their great lawgiver, Moses, and it is therefore very noteworthy that, as the author states (p. 55), no professional class of judges existed among them, and that, as the story of Naboth (1 Kings xxi) shows, judicial functions, in the eighth century B.C., still lay in the hands of the aristocracy and elders. "The passionate outcry of the prophets against the unjust dealings of the royal families of the land (Is. i, 23; Jer. xxi, 11 sq.; Mi. iii, 9) stands in unpleasant contrast with Babylonia,

¹ Thus, with *s*, according to the common transcription.

² Upon the subject of the Arabian origin of Ḥammurabi's dynasty, consult, among others, Professor Sayce's remarks in G. Smith's *History of Babylonia* (S.P.C.K., 1895), Preface, p. v.

³ Tablets of an earlier date show a considerable carrying trade between Babylonia and Elam, and probably other countries in the neighbourhood as well.

where Hammurabi, as his letters show us, investigated the suits of his poorest subjects, and did not hesitate to reverse the decisions of his governors."

How much there is that is uncertain in the laws of Hammurabi may be judged from § 5, which seems to indicate that a judge could not himself change the judgment which he had pronounced, though, as the above extract states, the king could do so. The author justly points out that it would be hardly natural for the judge to annul or alter his judgment—however much of a partizan, he would scarcely go back from his written verdict. The severity of the punishment makes it hardly likely, also, that the law refers to judicial error. It is easily conceivable, on the other hand, that cases might occur—and possibly did occur—in which a judge altered his decision after giving a written document. It might happen, for example, if a litigant had a very clear right to the verdict, but the judge was on the other side. Publicly, the judge would declare justly, in order to be able to say that he had given a correct decision, but privately, he would be tempted, by giving orders to the officers of the court, or in some other way, to reverse the decision which he had pronounced. Or, being led by circumstances to change his decision without any dishonest intent, he might be regarded as trespassing on the prerogative of the king. As to the severity of the penalty (a fine of twelve times the amount in dispute, which the judge who changed his decision had to pay), there seems to be no reason to doubt the common rendering. In contracts of late date, one who made a claim at law was responsible to twelve times the amount in dispute (*adi šinšeru tan itanappal*)—the same as in the case of the judge who changed his judgment in the Code of Hammurabi.

The laws relating to the family are dealt with in chapter iv, and the author comes to the conclusion, against Delitzsch, that the wife, in Babylonia, was in a position scarcely more independent than in early Arabian life. This is probably true, but it must nevertheless be conceded that a wife, especially if she was a woman of good standing and the

first legal wife of a man, had as many privileges as could consistently be granted. In later times, indeed, a wife could own property apart from that of her husband, as in the case of the wife of Marduk-našir-âbli, otherwise Širku, who, in exchange for a slave, the slave's wife, their six children, and a cornfield beside the canal Tupašu, gave him two sums of silver and one of gold, a ring, and two slaves, who had been part of her dowry. This would seem to be in accordance with the laws of Hammurabi, in which the right of a woman to all the property which she brought from her father's house as dowry, etc., is fully recognized. As far as can be judged, any theory that woman's position, in Babylonia, was at any time perfectly independent, is very unlikely, and certainly cannot be proved.

The fundamental idea in the Code of Hammurabi, Mr Cook says, is the familiar Semitic one, that marriage is instituted for the legal perpetuation of the husband's name and estate, and that the woman is a property which can be acquired by purchase, in return for which the buyer receives full marital rights. This, however, is a matter upon which there will probably be more than one opinion, for the mere fact that the father of the bride receives a sum of money does not prove that she became, by that act, one of the bridegroom's chattels. Originally, there is no doubt, wives were bought, not only among the Semites, but with other peoples also, and our own forefathers did the same thing, as the expression *bedgum gcbycan*, 'to buy with rings (of gold)' — that is, 'seek in marriage' — clearly shows.¹

¹ One of the earliest examples of this phrase occurs in the so-called 'gnomic verses,' and is to the effect that "The maiden shall by secret craft seek her friend (i.e. her lover), if she will not prosper among (her own) folk, that one may buy her with rings." The mœurs and customs of the early English in that matter were apparently not very different from what they are now, and as these verses go back to some prehistoric period (altered, it is thought, in later times), they are of considerable interest. The noteworthy point, however, is that the maiden herself had no objection to being bought—she even went to seek and to encourage her buyer. It is unlikely that women in ancient Babylonia had this liberty, and there is doubt whether they were even consulted as to their future life-partners. Such marriages are probably even now arranged in France, where a woman's real liberty only begins when she becomes a wife. No one, however, would in all probability contend that in such a case the wife was bought.

The laws against adultery and incest are well treated, and "the early codification of such laws stands in marked contrast with what is found elsewhere among the Semites." The punishment for incest with near relatives is exceedingly severe; moreover, for the far lesser offence of violating his son's wife a man could be bound and cast into the water, and the violating of another man's bride living in her father's house was punishable with death. It was only later that similar laws were enacted in Canaan, and references are made to Gen. xix, Judges xix, etc.; "the restrictions in Lev. xxi, 7, 14, apply only to the priests." The Babylonians of Hammurabi's time were, therefore, much more advanced than their contemporaries in this matter.

Notwithstanding that we find many examples of men possessing more than one wife, with all the attendant evils of the system, there is no doubt that the laws regulating this contributed largely to a prevention of abuses. A good example of this is the case of Taram-sagila and her adoptive sister Iltani, from which will be seen how well the interests of the two women were safeguarded. Nowhere in the Semitic world, says the author, do we find polygamy so restricted as in Babylonia.

Just as the laws of the family are discussed, so the author goes through the whole Code of Hammurabi. There is hardly a page upon which something of interest may not be found, and in very many cases noteworthy parallels, either from the Mosaic Code, the Law of the Covenant, Syrian Law, or Mohammedan law. All is treated with great fulness and acumen, and every authority of importance is quoted repeatedly. The concluding chapter contains a very short and useful summary of the comparisons which are made in the body of the work. In the Babylonian Code the enslaved wife and children are free in the fourth year, but in the Book of the Covenant not until the seventh year does the *male Hebrew slave* regain his freedom. In the Covenant a slave-concubine could not be sold to strangers, but in the Babylonian Code this was only so if she had borne children. The Babylonians punished the smiting of

parents by mutilation (the cutting off of the hands), but in the Covenant the punishment was death. In both codes the night-thief might be killed on the spot, but the Babylonian Code enacts further the death penalty for brigandage, theft from temple or palace, and at a fire, and the district is responsible for depredations caused by highwaymen. The amount of restitution ranges from thirtyfold to twofold, but in the Covenant fivefold for an ox, fourfold for a sheep, and double if the stolen thing were found in the thief's possession. In Babylonia the sacrilegious thief who could not make restitution was put to death, and the cattle-lifter in Ex. xxii, 3 is sold. If a thief steals a thing deposited, the owner of the depository must make restitution and recover from the thief, but in the Covenant he clears himself by an oath.

The Deuteronomic law in favour of the fugitive slave is in marked contrast with the severe enactments of the Code of Hammurabi. The statutes for the protection of the unfortunate debtor remind us of Israelitish injunctions and prohibitions, but whilst the latter appeal to the debtor's (qq. creditor's?) generosity, and are not always practicable, the humane laws of the Code of Hammurabi receive the stamp of authority and are intended to be carried out by the courts. Injustice towards the widow and the fatherless was forbidden and cursed, but one may search in vain for specific laws analogous to sections 172 and 177 of the Code of Hammurabi, which protect the widow if her sons afflict her, and the children in case she decide to marry again.

It is impossible to go over all the ground covered by this work, but enough has been said to show its value and thoroughness, and the industry with which the facts it contains have been collected. More, however, has yet to be done, and probably much will be added to our knowledge of the laws of the Babylonians in the near future. The work so well inaugurated by Meissner in his *Beitrage zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, published in 1893, needs carrying forward, notwithstanding the numerous publications upon the subject which have appeared since. There is also much

need for caution in translations of legal documents, and it must be remembered that up to the present all translations are more or less tentative, and the latest renderings are not always the best, notwithstanding the confidence with which they may be put forth. "None are infallible—not even the youngest of us."

The index to the Code of Hammurabi, to the Biblical passages, and the general index, add greatly to the usefulness of the book, which is bound to be a standard work of reference for some time to come.

T. G. PINCHES.

RECUEIL DE TABLETTES CHALDIENNES, par FRANÇOIS
THUREAU-DANGIN. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1903.)

The Assyriological world is again placed in the position of a debtor to this, the most prominent of students of the non-Semitic idiom of ancient Babylonia in France, by the publication of the collection now before us. It contains over 400 inscriptions, arranged chronologically in groups, all the documents included therein dating from before 2500 B.C. or thereabouts. Many of these texts come from the diggings of M. de Sarzec, who excavated them at Tel-loh between the years 1893 and 1900, so that this work forms in a great measure a monument to the services which that persevering explorer has rendered to the science of Assyriology. The groups of tablets, which are six in number, belong to certain well-marked periods of early Babylonian history. Unfortunately, however, they are texts of a most uninteresting nature, being mostly trade-documents and accounts, though a few plans of fields, etc., and contracts or delivery-notes occur among them.

The tablets of the first and the second series, which belong to the earliest period, are of a curious rounded form, and, judging from an unpublished tablet of similar shape which the present writer has seen, it is very probable that most of them had envelopes, which would account for the very excellent state of preservation in which they are

generally found. In the single example of an envelope which has come to my notice, an addition to the inscription, and also some very fine cylinder-seal impressions, were preserved. If the envelopes of all the others were similarly decorated, there is no doubt that a very important portion of the archæological material which originally accompanied these documents has not been recovered.

A portion of the first two series was excavated by M. de Sarzec in the year 1893 in a mound designated by the letter K, about 250 metres south-east of the palace-mound at Tel-loh. They are of the period before Ur-Nina, as is shown by the fact that the layer in which they were found is below that containing remains belonging to his time. As M. Thureau-Dangin does not mention any royal name in connection with this small series, and as I, too, have found nothing which could be regarded as indicating who was the reigning chief, they may be looked upon as barren of any historical information. The style of the writing is exceedingly archaic, and similar to that of the inscriptions which immediately follow.

The second group of the series is of unknown origin, but in connection with them M. Thureau-Dangin makes a very important suggestion. He notes that a god whose name is written with the characters Su-kur-ru is frequently mentioned, and that these characters, in the tablet 82-8-16, 1 (published by me, with additions, in S. A. Smith's *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts* in 1887), when used as the name of a city, with the proper determinative suffix, stand for Šurupag, explained as Šuruppak in the Semitic column, the Šūripak of the tablet giving the account of the Flood, where it is mentioned as the birthplace of Ut-napištim, the Babylonian Noah, and also the spot on earth where the gods decided to destroy mankind by the catastrophe which the Babylonian patriarch relates. The site of this interesting city is still unknown, but there is every probability that it will be discovered sooner or later, especially if these documents were excavated there.

It is on account of the style of the writing (no other

means of determining their relative position being available) that M. Thureau-Dangin places this group of tablets before the time of Ur-Nina. They bear, however, some very interesting names of rulers, whose titles, unfortunately, are not given. In two cases their names are compounded with that of the god of the place, and are read Maš-Šurupak and Enim-Šurupak- . . -zi.

The second series is one of which a great many specimens have been in the market, and have been purchased for various museums. There is no doubt, however, that the French explorers obtained all the more noteworthy specimens found, as is shown by the fact that, besides Lugal-an-da, patesi of Lagaš, and Uru-la-gina, king of Lagaš (it is noteworthy, by the way, that the former is called 'king' at least once), the name of a judge, Ur-Ē-Innana, occurs, as well as that of the patesi En-li-tar-zi and his predecessor En-te-me-na. The dealers seem to have reported that these tablets came from Madain, but as the texts excavated by the French explorers were found in a mound close by the palace-mound at Tel-loh, there is hardly any doubt that, as the inscriptions themselves indicate, the portions of the find offered for sale were obtained by the native excavators on the same site after the official diggings were over. It is noteworthy that some of these inscriptions are the palace-accounts of the consorts of En-li-tar-zi and Lugal-anda, and furnish interesting details as to the provisions, etc., needed, as well as the offerings to the deities worshipped by the inmates of the buildings from which they came. They are all very carefully written, and are made of well-baked clay.

The third series consists of a number of tablets which were found by M. de Sarzec in a mound which he designated the 'tell des tablettes.' They were heaped up without order upon the remains of a pavement of baked brick, at a depth of 3·70 metres. These tablets belong to the period of Šargani (Sargon of Agadé), his successors, and contemporaneous patesis, and give several historical details.

One of these inscriptions mentions Šargani's campaign against Elam and Zahara (apparently corresponding with that first in order in the inscriptions giving omens for his reign¹), whilst others refer to his expedition to Amurrū (cf. the second entry of the tablet of omens), which is regarded as being identical with Syria. The foundation of temples at Babylon and Niffer, and the capture of Šarlak, king of Kutû—possibly Cuthah, near Babylon, now represented by the mound bearing the name Tell Ibrahim—are among the historical data contained in this series. The third entry in the omen-tablet here quoted refers to Babylon, but its mutilation makes its exact sense somewhat uncertain. Inscriptions of the patesis or viceroys during the reigns of Šargani and his son Naram-Sin, namely, Lugal-ušumgala and Ur-ê (or Sur-ê²) are also given. Unfortunately, real chronological data are wanting, and the history of the early period to which these inscriptions refer is by no means clear.

The fourth series belongs to the layer uncovered in 1898 and 1900 in the tract north of the 'tell des tablettes.' They are of unbaked clay, and though they go down to the period of Ibi-Sin (Ine-Sin, Ine-Enzu), only those of the period preceding that of Un-Engur are given. They contain a number of data, which can, in some cases, be arranged in proper sequence, but more material is required before anything of real chronological value is possible. One group of tablets seems to be of a date anterior to that of the well-known king Gudea, whose statues are now in the Louvre, and others dated in his reign, as well as that of Ur-Nin-girsu, his son, are given. Numerous references to royal, princely, and high-placed personages of the time occur, and, with the details concerning their needs and way of living, will furnish valuable material for reconstructing the life of the Babylonians at that early period. The

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv, pl. 34.

² The tablet-fragment containing a new version of the Legend of Gilgamesh, discovered and translated by Meissner, implies that the character *ur* had, in non-Semitic (Sumero-Akkadian) names, the pronunciation of *sur*.

indications of the events chosen to date by, such as the construction of temples, the digging of canals, etc., seem to imply that they were a peaceful folk, which would explain their advancement in civilization—such as it then was.

M. Thureau-Dangin's fifth series is similar to the preceding. The tablets are of unbaked clay, and belong to the time of Ur-Engur and part of that of Dungi, his son. Of the same period are also the tablets of the sixth series published in this work. Part of them is of unbaked clay, and the remainder (which was found in the southern part of the 'tell des tablettes,' arranged orderly in superimposed layers upon ledges of earth along the two sides of narrow subterranean galleries) of similar material well baked. It is during this period that we get something like effective chronological data in the lists of events drawn up to date by, like those published by Professor Hilprecht in his *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Nos. 125 and 127. Here warlike expeditions are frequently referred to, as well as the restoration of temples, the enthronement of high-priests, and the dedication of objects to the gods. A large number of tablets belonging to this period exists, and others are, from time to time, brought to Europe. The dates of these inscriptions begin with what M. Thureau-Dangin regards as the twenty-fifth entry of the chronological tablet published by Hilprecht, i.e. the investiture of the lord thought to be the high-priest of Eridu, and goes on to refer to the third campaign against Simurru; the third against Ganḥar; the campaign against Anšan; the construction of Dur-māti, 'the fortress of the land'; the building of the temple of Dungi (Dungi), which M. Thureau-Dangin identifies with that called Pî-ša-iš-Dagana; the campaign against Šašru; the ninth campaign against Simurru and Lulubu; the campaign against Kimaš; and that against Ḥarši and Ḥumurti. If all the entries in the chronological list published by Hilprecht belong to Dungi, he must have ruled, according to the author, at least forty-five, and possibly fifty years.

There is no doubt that his was a long and most successful reign, and, indeed, this would also appear from the number of royal inscriptions of Dungi extant. For the reign of his successor, Bûr-Sin, seven dates are quoted, the last being that of his ninth year, when the high-priest of Nannara (the Moon-god) at Kar-zida was invested. Seven dates are also quoted for Gimil-Sin, the king who followed Bûr-Sin, during whose reign the western wall, called *murtq Tidnim*, was constructed. Ibi-Sin, with one date only—perhaps the second or third of his reign—finishes the series, and as no inscriptions of successors are known with certainty, it may be conjectured that some catastrophe overtook the dynasty, bringing it to a sudden end.

The chronological conclusion to which M. Thureau-Dangin comes is, that if Nabonidus's statements with regard to the date of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon of Agadé, showing that it corresponded with the thirty-eighth century B.C., be correct, then the accession of Ibi-Sin could hardly have taken place less than 3500 or 3400 B.C. Entemena would then have reigned about 4000 B.C., the earliest series of texts published would fall 'in full fifth millennium,' and it is difficult to believe that these dates are not too high. This opinion concerning the earliest chronology of the Babylonians is shared by most Assyriologists, and more material for testing Nabonidus's statement is much needed. A thousand years later as the date of these later dynasties is certainly more reasonable—indeed, 2500 years B.C. as the period of Dungi, Bûr-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, is just that which we should expect. Doubtless Nabonidus's antiquarian enthusiasm led him to overestimate the date of his great predecessor of Agadé, and in the absence of the pride of youth, the pride of length of days is a failing with nations and individuals alike. Nabonidus's chronological indications naturally depended largely on the accuracy of the scribe or scribes who supplied him with the information.

All Assyriologists will be grateful to M. Thureau-Dangin for his really valuable work, so conscientiously and painstakingly, and withal so modestly performed. It is a book

which no student of that early period in the history of Babylonia can possibly neglect.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE ARMY OF THE INDIAN MOGHULS. By W. IRVINE.
(London, 1903.)

"The Army of the Indian Moghuls, its Organisation and Administration" is the title of a book lately published by Mr. W. Irvine, which appears to be part of a larger work dealing with the later Indian Moghul system of administration in all its branches. He has been prompted to anticipate in this preliminary investigation the earlier sections of his subject, by the appearance of Dr. Horn's essay on a similar theme, and the first seven chapters have already appeared in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* for July, 1896. These earlier sections, from which he has been diverted by the perusal of Horn's "*Das Heer- und Kriegswesen der Gross-Moghuls*," treating of the Sovereign, the Court ceremonial, and the system of Entitlement, were at the time little more than sketched out, and will now be continued, no doubt, without interruption. All this, however, is to serve merely as an Introduction to a complete history of that period already planned and commenced. So far the time occupied in these preliminary studies has been ten years, and Mr. Irvine appears to have no misgiving that health and opportunity will be granted for the completion of his formidable task. The work under notice has run to 300 pages, and the whole system of government "in all its branches" has yet to come, presumably with the same elaborate detail and conscientious pursuit of accuracy, not only in minute particularities of reference to multitudinous authors, but in the philology of all Oriental terms employed. The same authorities for the period he deals with, viz. the reigns of Aurungzeb's successors, 1707-1803, will probably serve him in many of his other investigations and lighten his task, but the list quoted at the close of his book includes a range of reading so extensive

that, if we are to judge of Hercules from his foot, the remaining volumes of the Introduction alone will entail a research as exhaustive, and employ a period as considerable, as that which has already engaged his diligence. If Mr. Irvine will permit a suggestion tending to shorten his labours, it is that he should master the art of selection and compression. There is abundant evidence in his account of the Moghul army of his uncommon familiarity with the authors he refers to, many of whom he must consult in the original manuscripts in his own possession or in the British Museum, and of the stores of curious and wide reading from which he draws auxiliary support or illustration of his statements. But in its present form the work is less an account of the Moghul army than a rich storehouse of raw material to be used by future labourers in the same field, and not for present enjoyable consumption, more likely to be perused by those who read to write than by such as read for pleasurable instruction. It is rather the work of a scholiast than a historian, a kind of *glossarium de bellicis rebus* wherein the technical terms relating to the personnel of the army, its equipment, arms, munitions, methods of attack, defence, and the like, are discussed under separate headings, with much learning, if with somewhat needless extracts from various authors on the same subject where there is little or no real divergence, inducing prolixity and confusing what is clear. Much of the ground is already sufficiently covered by Blochmann in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, vol. i, and the iteration of doubtful names for different pieces of armour with conjectural emendations of terms of equipment not to be found in any dictionary, and of which the uses even are unknown, are not worth the space of their record. Antiquarian research is one of the objects of the Society, but there is a danger to be avoided by

“learned philologists who chase
A panting syllable through time and space,
Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark,
From Greece to Rome and into Noah’s Ark.”

In a work of this nature, intended, apparently, for incorporation in a historical treatise, it is essential that there should be as little as possible to disturb the attention of the reader from the main facts of the narrative, lest the bewildering mass of overloaded details and parenthetical references to their innumerable sources weary the most long-enduring patience. Among these avoidable interruptions are the repeated translations of common Persian nouns, which every newly-joined subaltern in India learns in a week, derivations already explained, references of words not only to common dictionaries but to their pages, a series of meanings given therefrom when one would suffice, lists of fortresses and authorities that describe them, names of killed and wounded in obscure battles, whose mention only emphasizes the profundity of their oblivion, and endless citations of manuscripts which perplex without instructing the scholar. These are defects which would interfere with the profitable enjoyment of any work, however valuable in other respects, and they are not mentioned in any spirit of carping criticism, but to remove a very needless self-imposed labour on the author with proportionate relief to his readers. As Mr. Irvine justly observes in his concluding general observations, the brief but most interesting portion of his volume, the empire's final collapse was due to its military decrepitude. There was little loyalty, absolutely no patriotism; the army, a body of mercenaries ready to desert or sell itself to the highest bidder; the infantry, a rabble of half-armed scarecrows of no account on either side, fit only for plundering the defenceless, and who had as lief hear the devil as a drum; the cavalry, fearful of sacrificing their horses, for which, if lost, they were never repaid, and dispersing at once on the death or flight of their leader; the artillery, generally immovable, the heavy guns firing one shot in three hours if they did not burst at the first discharge—these were the elements of a battle, combined with much shouting and abusive language and blowing of horns; its conclusion the immediate flight, after plundering their own camp, of the vanquished, or that of the enemy if victorious;

recorded by historians in language of hyperbole that would be excessive if applied to the campaigns of Alexander. There were, of course, brave men and gallant deeds at all times; these are not confined to any nation nor to any age, but they did not alter and only brought into greater prominence the miserable incompetence, the corruption, the intrigues, the shameless effeminacy, and craven spirit that marked the degenerate holders of that sceptre once swayed by the intrepid hands of Baber. After the death of Aurungzeb in 1707 the tottering structure of this once great dominion rapidly crumbled to its fall. While supported and nourished by infusion of vigorous northern blood from beyond the Himalayas, it continued to flourish with some show of hereditary power, but when that source failed and it depended for its endurance on the languid generations of the Indian plains, shattered by the wide devastation of the Persian and the Afghan and the assault of the Marhatta, the insubstantial pageant faded from history.

It may be of service to correct some errors here and there that deserve emendation. At p. 9 'Uzzám is given as the plural of A'zam. Like the latter, it is itself an intensive form of عَظِمَ, and not a plural at all, nor used in the plural. Possibly a *sálim* plural might be allowable, though an instance would be difficult to discover, but a broken plural it cannot be. No doubt عَظَمَاءَ is intended, which is a plural of عَظِيم.

At p. 19 *Ayyám i hiláli* is rendered 'days of the moon's rise.' If the transliteration *h* for ح is correct, the word has no connection with the moon, which requires *ḍ* for its orthography. هِلَال signifies both the new and waning moon; during the rest of the month it is called قَمَر. If Hiláli be the right reading, the deduction of pay might refer to days of rest (حَلال, v. n. 3 of حَلَّ), a deduction, as it were, during halts against travelling or service allowance, but this is mere conjecture.

P. 29, *kamrband* for *kamarband*, *ka'bah* for *qabá*. P. 45, *mutákhawín* for *muta'akhhírin*. P. 48 *farágh* for *farákh*, *barwat* (twice) for *burút*. P. 109, *mu'and* for *mu'ámid*, and some others.

At p. 66 occurs the following verse:—

“Chah yáre kunad mighfar o joshan am
Chún Bári na kard akhtar roshan am.”

Yáre should be *yári* in the first line, and the second requires the *isáfat* after *akhtar* for its proper scansion. The verse is *mutaqárib*, catalectic in the final syllable. This change would alter the meaning given, and render the reading *Bári* i very doubtful. *Yári* seems the more probable word, and certainly gives the sense, which the other does not.

There are other points on which not a little remains to be said, but sufficient has been noted to indicate the line taken by the author in this early portion of his history, and the advantage of compression in its continuance if he would do justice to the industry and ability which he brings to his task.

H. S. JARRET.

THE MIDDLE EASTERN QUESTION, OR SOME POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF INDIAN DEFENCE. By VALENTINE CHIROL. (London : Murray, 1903.)

Mr Chirol's book is very well written and eminently readable, being a pleasant blend of travel, personal observation, and political speculation. It embraces the whole frontier of India from Siam to Sistān; but is mainly concerned with those burning questions of Anglo-Indian politics, Persia and the Persian Gulf. Anyone approaching these subjects for the first time could not choose a better guide than Mr. Chirol; while even experts will benefit by studying his lucid *résumé* of the problem in its very latest phases. Mr. Chirol brings out with striking clearness the fact that Russia's present objective seems to be Sistān, to be followed by an advance straight to some point on the coast between Karāchi and the mouth of the Gulf. All

preliminaries are being carefully settled, the Persian customs have been captured, under the screen of a subservient Belgian administration, and before many years are over we may see another of those Russian encroachments which it is the fashion here in England to call 'inevitable.' Russia's advance to the shores of the Indian Ocean should be in no sense more 'inevitable' than a similar movement by us from Quetta to Sistān, Shīrāz, and the Gulf ports. With us it is the will rather than the power to make such an advance that is wanting. The accelerated pace at which Russia is now pushing southwards is the newest and most striking fact brought out in this book. Lord Lansdowne's recent declaration that the Persian Gulf is a British sphere of influence may have done a little to postpone the course of events. But when the time comes—shall we not, as hitherto, be like the lady who, "vowing she would ne'er consent, consented"? When that comes to pass, we shall find the protection of our sea-route to India, the Far East, and Australia a burden almost more than can be borne. I have no criticisms to offer, for Mr. Chirol's views are substantially those held by me and, as I believe, by nearly every other Anglo-Indian. I have noticed, however, one small oversight. The right of Cambridge to claim our distinguished member, Mr. E. G. Browne, must be vindicated; he is Professor Browne, not of *Oxford* (p. 120), but of *Cambridge*.

WM. IRVINE.

THE RAGHUVANŢA, THE STORY OF RAGHU'S LINE, BY
KĀLIDĀSA. Translated by P. DE LACY JOHNSTONE.
(London: Dent & Co.)

This translation of the most celebrated Sanskrit epic poem of the classical period is intended, presumably, chiefly for the benefit of English readers who are not Sanskrit scholars. It aims, therefore, at preserving the spirit rather than the mode of expression, the substance rather than the form, of Kālidāsa's poem.

Mr. de Lacy Johnstone has wisely chosen blank verse as the most suitable medium for his version; and he certainly possesses the somewhat rare faculty of using this medium effectively and without monotony.

The following passage (Canto ix, lines 79-88 of the translation) affords a very fair sample of his style:—

“Came in his season Spring, that gracious Lord,
In might all-worshipful, the peer alike
Of Gods of Earth, and Sky, and Wealth, and Sea,
To deck the world with new-born flowers. The Sun
Turned towards Kuvera's realms his steeds, and cleared
The morning-hours of Frost, and left the slopes
Of well-loved Malaya. First burst the buds,
Then sprouted fresh green twigs, with hum of bees
And cuckoos' wooing note —through tree-clad glade
In order due thus Spring revealed himself.”

This is certainly very readable English verse, and the passage has been chosen as, in point of style, fairly representing the whole translation. At the beginning of the passage quoted there is an inversion of the sense and construction of the original, which may be intentional or unintentional on the part of the translator; but, if intentional, it is scarcely justifiable.¹ Apart from this, it is to be noted that the translator has, in these ten lines of blank verse (= 100 syllables), succeeded in giving an adequate presentation of every idea in the original passage, which consists of three *drutāḍambita* verses (= 144 syllables).

Everywhere throughout this version Mr. de Lacy Johnstone's taste and judgment are apparent, and he has certainly completed his difficult and delicate task with a rare degree of success.

E. J. R.

¹ The original idea is, of course, that Spring comes with his new flowers as it to honour King Daśaratha, the equal of the Gods.

THE MYSTICS, ASCETICS, AND SAINTS OF INDIA. By JOHN CAMPBELL OMAN. (London: Fisher Unwin, 1903.)

In this volume Professor Oman gives us a history of Indian asceticism with especial reference to its manifestations at the present day and in times comparatively recent. It is a common-place—one of those self-evident truths which are generally disregarded in practice—that the India of to-day is best understood through a knowledge of the India of the past; and there can be no doubt that the converse of this proposition is equally true, viz., that a knowledge of the India of to-day is the best possible commentary on the India of the past. There has, in fact, been a continuity in the social and religious history of India, which makes it impossible to understand properly any particular phase without some reference to its position in the whole chain of development. By placing on record his careful personal observations of Indian asceticism and its devotees, Professor Oman has made an important contribution, not only to the history of Indian religion, but also to the history of religion generally; for asceticism in one form or another is a constant feature in different phases of religious history, though it has in India attained to a development scarcely to be paralleled elsewhere.

Professor Oman's book is well illustrated, and it is written in an interesting style which should make it popular.

E. J. R.

TIMOTHEOS: DIE PERSER, AUS EINEM PAPYRUS VON ABUSIR,
herausgegeben von ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-
MÖLLENDORFF. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.)

The papyrus, here edited by one of the greatest of living classical scholars, was found in 1902 buried with a mummy in a tomb near Memphis. It has the distinction of being the oldest known Greek MS. The evidence alike of palæography and of the objects found together with it points to a date probably as early as 350 B.C. The poem itself is a *νόμος*

of the musician-poet Timotheos of Miletus, who flourished c. 400 B.C. It is in fact a *libretto* of which we have lost the music. It is to be judged, therefore, from the literary point of view, as we should judge Wagner's poems if their music was lost, that is to say, as a work of art necessarily incomplete.

The language of the poem is extravagant to a degree, and the superabundance of its metaphors makes us imagine almost that we are reading—so far as most of us can read this poem at all without the aid of the paraphrase in simplified Greek which is thoughtfully supplied—a Sanskrit *kāvya*. Like a Sanskrit *kāvya*, too, though dealing with one of the most inspiring and one of the most momentous events in history—no less an event, in all probability, than the battle of Salamis—we may search it through and through without finding one solitary historical reference of any importance. The description of the sea-fight might refer to any sea-fight; or rather, to be strictly accurate, it is of the nature of a stock description, such as we are, alas! only too familiar with in Indian literature, which could not be properly applied to any human event whatever.¹

Disappointing as the work is from the literary point of view, the discovery of this papyrus, of which an excellent *facsimile* is also published, is of the utmost importance for the study of Greek palæography.

E. J. R.

A MANUAL OF MUSALMAN NUMISMATICS. By O. CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A. (Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. VII; 1904.)

No branch of numismatics is, from the historical point of view, so valuable as that which deals with the coinages of the Muhammadan powers who, in all the three continents of the Old World, have taken so prominent a part in the

¹ Was there ever such delicious irony as is contained in the Jain *vañño*, "the description as before," regularly added after the mention of each new name or place?

history of mankind. This special value is explained by the fact that, with comparatively few exceptions, Muhammadan coins regularly record the date, the mint, and, from the end of the second century of the Hejira, generally also the name of the reigning prince. We have thus preserved an amount of evidence of the most trustworthy character, which enables us often either to supply the outlines of the history of a country during a period for which all other records have perished, or to control such other records as may have survived. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that all this evidence should be collected in as complete a manner as possible; and any effort to make the study of Muhammadan numismatics more general, by simplifying those difficulties which are apt to discourage students at the outset, is to be commended.

In the present little manual of 240 pages Dr. Codrington has put together, in an admirably clear and simple form, all the information and all the practical hints which are likely to help the student in the actual work of reading and identifying the coins. He, in fact, puts on record for the benefit of others the experience which he has himself gained during many years as a collector of Muhammadan coins.

The only work of the kind available up to the present time has been Soret's *Eléments de la Numismatique Musulmane*, a work long since out of print, and somewhat unsatisfactory as a manual for constant reference because of its unsystematic arrangement and the want of any sort of index. Dr. Codrington's book marks a great advance, not only in clearness, but also in completeness, since he has laid under contribution the large literature which has appeared since the date of Soret's book (1864). Especially worthy of note is Dr. Codrington's "List of Mint Towns," which takes up no fewer than seventy-one pages, and comprises, on a rough calculation, between a thousand and eleven hundred names of places at which Muhammadan coins were struck. This list will be of the greatest use. It is much fuller than any other similar list in existence, and its value is enhanced by the addition, wherever possible, of the precise geographical

position of the places and any descriptive or honorific epithets habitually associated with their names on the coins.

Dr. Codrington's book is sure of a welcome wherever there are students of Muhammadan numismatics, and nowhere more than in India, where there are at the present time gratifying signs of an increasing interest in this important branch of historical study.

E. J. R.

MISCELLANEA.

THE SAHASRĀM, RŪPNĀTH, ETC., EDICT OF AŚŌKA.

I find that I cannot deal explicitly with the second important passage in this record, without presenting somewhat lengthy comments on some of the details of the texts of it; even though the cases are but few in which I differ from decipherments made by Dr. Bühler and M. Senart. For more than one reason, those comments cannot be given in this Journal. And I shall therefore defer the completion of my second article for this Journal, until I have fixed the texts of the passage, with my remarks on them, in a separate note in the *Indian Antiquary*.

Meanwhile, I would say that the announcement made by me in this Journal, 1903, p. 829, is to be modified as follows. A closer study of the Brahmagiri text has shewn me that, while Aśoka did join the *Samgha* early in the thirty-third year after his *abhishēka*, it was not until five years later, early in the thirty-eighth year, that he abdicated and passed into religious retirement. And thus the edict further endorses the statement of the *Dipavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, that Aśoka reigned for thirty-seven years.

I take this opportunity of saying that Suvarṇagiri, where Aśoka was in religious retirement when he issued the edict, was one of the hills surrounding the ancient city Girivraja, in Magadha.

J. F. FLEET.

16th January, 1904.

GUESSING THE NUMBER OF VIBHĪTAKA SEEDS.

Nala, chapter xx, describes how Nala drove King Rūpama. They come across a *vibhītaka* or *bahērā* tree.

The king shows his skill in *sankhyāna* by at once stating the number of the leaves and of the fruits that had fallen from it, and of the number of leaves and of the fruits that were on two of the branches. This passage has puzzled several European scholars, and various explanations have been offered. The one that I was taught in my young days was that the king challenged Nala to a game of "odd or even "

I would suggest that the simplest and literal explanation is the best one. In Northern India crops of all kinds, including fruit, are often estimated. The process is called *kan-kūt*, and is a necessary incident of certain tenures, the tenant paying the value of a fixed proportion of the estimated produce to his landlord as rent. In my old district of Gayā this tenure is very common, and a body of men known as *kaniyā*, or appraisers, has been called into existence. The skill of these men is something wonderful. It is almost uncanny to see one of them walk into a field, pluck a few ears of rice here and there, and then say that the produce is so many maunds per *bigha*, i.e. bushels per acre. Assuming that the appraiser is believed to be acting fairly, his appraisement is accepted by both parties. On a few occasions on which I have seen it tested it has always come out right. To come nearer to King R̥tuparna's exploit, fruit-trees are often subjected to the same procedure. I may quote my own experience. It is a common thing for Anglo-Indian officials to sell the fruit of their gardens. If they do not do so their servants steal it. The purchaser, who is usually a neighbouring fruiterer, watches the crop, and the agreement of sale is for so much money down and for a certain proportion of the fruit to be delivered to the owner of the trees. On one occasion a fruiterer at Gayā offered me a ridiculously small sum for a fine crop of mangoes. We are always swindled in these matters, but this was a trifle too strong. So I got a native friend to send me a good *kaniyā*. The man came, sauntered about my orchard for half an hour, and then told me that I had so many mangoes. The fruiterer accepted his statement

without demur, and when I talked to him about it afterwards said that of course it was correct. It never occurred to him to question the accuracy of the estimate of a *kantiyā* so well known as the man I had called in.

It seems to me, therefore, that we must take the episode in Nala literally. King R̥tuparna was simply an extraordinarily good *kantiyā*, and seized the opportunity of displaying his skill to the astonished Nala.

Regarding the use of the *vibhīṭaka* nut as a 'teetotum' in gambling, see Professor von Roth's essay in the *Gurupūjākaumudī*. I daresay R̥tuparna was "skilled in dice" (i.e. in teetotum-spinning), which accounts for his selecting the *bahēṛā*-tree for his arithmetical display.

Camberley.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

January 29th, 1904.

A DISCLAIMER

May I crave the indulgence of a small space to make my peace with Dr. Fleet? He appears to have taken offence (see *ante*, p. 164) at an innocent expression of mine, indicating a difference of view. I was not aware that the expression carried any offensive meaning. In any case, I desire to assure Dr. Fleet that no offence whatever was intended. The manner of referring to him on p. 563 of my paper will, I hope, convince him of my unprovocative disposition. I now see that I was in error; and I note with satisfaction that, on the point in question, Dr. Fleet is in agreement with me. Under the circumstances, of course, I withdraw the offending remark unreservedly.

As to the spelling 'Kangudeśa' for 'Kongudeśa,' need I say that it is a misprint which escaped me in proof-reading? I willingly, however, accept Dr. Fleet's correction, that "the elephant-emblem belonged to the great Western Gaṅga princes of Mysore"—the more so, as it strengthens my argument.

For the rest, despite the somewhat sarcastic (undeservedly so, I think) remark, "he has solved one of those problems

to his own satisfaction," I venture to entertain the hope that, in course of time, my working hypothesis on a confessedly obscure period of Indian history will meet with the acceptance of the thoughtful reader.

Oxford.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

January 31st, 1904.

THE VEDDAS OF CEYLON: ORIGIN OF THEIR NAME.

It is a remarkable fact that, of the various authors who wrote on Ceylon during its occupation by the Portuguese (1506–1658), only one, as far as I know, refers to the Veddas, viz. Pedro Teixeira, in 1610, and he calls them, erroneously, *Pachas*.¹ Captain João Ribeiro, who was in Ceylon from 1640 to 1658, devotes part of a chapter of his *Fatalidade Historica* to the Veddas, whom he terms 'Bédas'; but his book was not written until 1681, more than twenty years after the Dutch had ousted the Portuguese from Ceylon. In 1675 Rijklof van Goens the elder, on being promoted from the governorship of Ceylon to the high office of Governor-General at Batavia, wrote an interesting account of the island,² in which he gives a pretty full description of the Veddas, their customs, etc. He begins by saying: "The Weddass (who call themselves Beddass) are aboriginal³ inhabitants from of old till now, whose origin no one is able to demonstrate." The statement that the Veddass "call themselves Beddass" is noteworthy, in view of the fact that in Sinhalese *bedda* means 'forest, jungle'; but I can find no authority for the assertion. As I have mentioned above, Ribeiro calls these forest-dwellers 'Bédas'; and in the Batavia *Dagh-Register* for 1644–1645 (p. 307) we are told that in the early part of 1645 Rāja Sinha, the king of Kandy, put to death two

¹ See Journal R.A.S., 1899, p. 133.

² Printed almost *in extenso* in Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, Deel v, pp. 204–246.

³ The passage as quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. 'Veddass,' has, by a misprint, apparently, "all original."

‘bedes’ who had supplied the Dutch at Batticaloa with wax. (This is the earliest occurrence of the word that I have yet found.)

The origin of the name ‘Vēddā’ has been the subject of much controversy. Yule, in *Hobson-Jobson*, says, “The word is said to mean ‘hunters’”; and to this the editor of the new edition appends in brackets, “Tamil *vedu*, ‘hunting.’” But the Tamil for ‘hunting’ is not *vedu*, but *vēḍu* (a hunter is *vēḍan*); and any connection between this and *vēddā* is extremely improbable. (Mr. Crooke seems to have been misled by the assertion of Mr. Whitworth in his *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v. ‘Vedar.’) The commonly accepted derivation of *vēddā* is from Skt.-Pali *vyādha*; but, as Professor W. Geiger points out (*Litt. und Sprache der Singh.*, p. 47), *vēddā* would indicate a base-form *vyaddha*, and not *vyādha*. The stem-form of *vēddā* is *vēdi*; and this, Dr. Geiger says, points rather to the participle *vajjita*, ‘isolated, excluded,’ which would be quite as appropriate an appellation for these wild men as ‘hunters.’

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Feb. 20th, 1904.

SERES OR CHERAS?

There is a puzzling passage in Pliny’s description of Ceylon, H.N. vi, 22 [24]. Pliny is relating what he had heard from the members of a Singhalese embassy to the Emperor Claudius (41–54 A.D.), at the head of which was one Rachias—doubtless the Latin for a Rajah. After describing the position of the sun and stars as seen in Ceylon, Pliny goes on—“*Idem narravere latus insulae quod praetenderetur Indiae x.m. stad. esse ab oriente hiberno. ultra montes Hemodos Seras quoque ab ipsis adspici notos etiam commercio, patrem Rachiae commeasse eo, advenis ibi Seras occursare. ipsos vero excedere hominum magnitudinem, rutilus comis, caeruleis oculis, oris sono truci, nullo commercio linguae. cetera eadem quae nostri negotiatores.*

fluminis ulteriore ripa merces positas juxta venalia tolli ab his, si placeat permutatio," etc.—"Moreover, they told me that the coast from the north-east extremity ran parallel with the Indian mainland for 10,000 stadia; and also that beyond the Emodi Montes were the Seres, whom they knew by sight; they traded with them; the father of Rachias had frequently travelled thither, and it was the custom of the Seres to meet strangers there; that these Seres were of unusual height, and had red hair, blue eyes, and harsh voices; they knew no language employed in commerce. The rest of the story agreed with the reports of our merchants, i.e., they placed their own goods for barter on the farther bank of the stream beside the articles the natives brought for sale; and if the natives liked the exchange, they carried off what was offered."—By the Seres the older classical authors meant the people of Sarikol, Kashgar, and N.W. China. Pliny makes *Serica* extend to the eastern sea, and the Montes Emodi are of course the Himalayas. Pomponius Mela (iii, 7), another writer of the first century A.D., says that the Seres inhabited the country from the Taurus range to the Talis mountains overlooking the sea; they were a right honest folk, for in trading they left their goods in the desert for exchange, and then kept out of sight. On the strength of these passages Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, iii, pp. 85–6) and other writers have asserted the existence of a trade between Ceylon and Central Asia.

And this is doubtless what Pliny understood. But what did the Singhalese ambassadors really mean? Pliny must have conversed with them through one or more dragomen, probably Greeks; and the rest of his narrative shows that he frequently misunderstood the information he got. Now the explanation given by Lassen labours under three difficulties. First, Pliny's words seem to imply that the Seres in question were at no great distance from Ceylon. The coasts of Ceylon and India lie parallel to each other; across the straits are the hills behind which the Seres live; so he seems to say. To fly off to Central Asia is as if a man describing Great Britain were suddenly to insert a description

of Hong Kong. Second, the Indus Valley would be the natural route for such a trade, but this route was in all probability more or less barred at the time by the conquests of the Kushans in the north, and by the anarchy of the Parthian chiefs of Minnagar on the Indus. Not barred completely, because emeralds, sapphires, and furs from China (Serica) found their way from the north to Barbarike, the port at the mouth of the river (Periplus, c. 39) ; but although goods might pass, individual travellers would find the journey difficult. Third, the Tartars and Mongolians who inhabited Serica in no way correspond to the description of these Seres. For these reasons many commentators have rejected the notion that these Seres have anything to do with Central Asia.

Lassen suggests that the fair Seres in question were the Usuns, a semi-mythical people of European origin, who lived in Zungaria at the end of the second century B.C. These Usuns soon disappeared, and we hear nothing further of them. But there is a much simpler explanation, I think, of the matter. The Cheras occupied Mysore at this time ; their territory possibly extended to the sea. The ambassadors may have said that among the Cheras there lived a race fair, like their Roman interlocutors, and an object of curiosity to the Singhalese. The existence of such a fair race in Mysore is vouched for by the Arab traveller Suleman in the ninth century A.D. (Reinaud, *Rel. des Voyages*, p. 30). "*C'est un peuple de couleur blanche, qui a les oreilles percées, et qui est remarquable pour sa beauté. Il habite les champs et les montagnes.*" Ethnologists have traced such tribes of European origin among the Ainos and even in Polynesia ; and it would not be at all surprising to find that some such tribe had wandered to the south of the Dekhan. It has now disappeared, doubtless been absorbed, but the evidence of Suleman singularly confirms the statement of the Singhalese ambassadors.

If the ambassadors really meant the Cheras, it is easy to understand how Pliny, having the Seres in his mind, and knowing nothing of the Ghats or the Nilagiris, called them

the Emodi Montes. The system of barter he describes is, of course, one common to many savage tribes; it is in no way distinctive.

J. KENNEDY.

THE OLD INDIAN ALPHABET.

Professor Bühler, at p. 27 of his article on the Brāhma alphabet (Indian Studies, No. iii), quotes a passage from the lost Jain Aṅga, the Diṭṭhivāda (about 300 B.C.), which says that the alphabet had then 46 akṣaras or letters. The commentator, Abhayadeva (about the eleventh century), explains this number by saying that it is the same as the number of letters in his time with the vowels *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, and *ḹ*, and the lingual consonant *ḷ*, left out, but with *kṣ* included. Now Professor Buhler says this is a mistake; the alphabet referred to must have left out the four vowels and the akshara *kṣ*, and have included the Vedic or Pali *ḷ*. That would make the alphabet at the time of the Jain Aṅgas as follows:—

Vowels	<i>a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ai, o, au, aṃ, aḥ</i>	12
Consonants	<i>k, kh, g, gh, ṅ</i>	5
„	<i>c, ch, j, jh, ñ</i>	5
„	<i>ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ</i>	5
„	<i>t, th, d, dh, n</i>	5
„	<i>p, ph, b, bh, m</i>	5
„	<i>y, r, l, v, ḷ</i>	5
„	<i>ś, ṣ, s, h</i>	4
		46

But in the ancient Sanskrit literature and also in the indigenous schools, which adhere to the oldest practices, the four vowels *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, *ḹ*, and *kṣ* are included in the alphabet, and *ḷ* is omitted. This makes it consist of altogether fifty letters. So, in the Gautamiya Tantra we read:—

Pañcāśal-lipibhir mālā vihitā sarva-karmaṇi |
A-kārādi-kṣa-kārāntā varṇa-mālā prakīrtitā ||

“In all literary works garlands are prepared by the fifty letters. Those beginning with *a* and ending in *kṣ* are called the row of letters or the alphabet.”

Mallinātha, in the thirteenth century A.D., in his commentary on Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, says that the Sanskrit alphabet consists of fifty letters. Thus in the commentary on verse 28, canto iii, of the *Raghuvamśa* we read :—

lipeḥ pañcāśad-varṇātmikāyāḥ mātṛkāyāḥ | ¹

The Lautsha alphabet, which was introduced into Tibet probably in the seventh century A.D., consists of fifty letters, including *aṁ*, *aḥ*, and *kṣ*; but having no *l*.

In the *Lalitavistara* (chap. x, p. 145, Bengal Asiatic Society's edition; ed. Lefmann, p. 127), where we meet with a grand description of the school in which Buddha learnt the alphabet, the letters *aṁ* and *aḥ* are mentioned in the row of vowels and *kṣ* in that of consonants. Thus, in the *Lalitavistara* we read :—

Aṁ-kāre amoghotpatti-śabdaḥ |

Aḥ-kāre astamgamana-śabdo niścarati sma |

Kṣa-kāre parikīrtiyamāne kṣaṇa-paryant-ābhilāṣa-sarva-dharma-śabdo niścarati sma |

Aṁ being uttered there came out the echo, viz., “efficacious birth.”

Aḥ being uttered there came out the echo, viz., “going down or setting.”

Kṣa being uttered there came out the echo, viz., “the desire for all objects is momentary.”

It follows that Abhayadeva was not so far wrong after all.

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¹ *See*. “of writing, (that is to say) of the alphabet consisting of fifty letters.”—Ed.

A PECULIAR USE OF THE CAUSAL IN SANSKRIT AND PĀLI.

Though my knowledge of Pāli is very limited, it has struck me more than once that texts in that language offer examples for one or the other of the rules of the Sanskrit grammarians for which no examples have yet been found in Sanskrit texts. An instance of this kind is furnished by the sentence *namassamāno vivasemi rattim*, quoted by Dr. Fleet above, p. 20, from the *Suttanipāta*.

In Vārttika 9 on Pāṇini iii, 1, 26, Kātyāyana lays down a rule concerning a peculiar use of the causal, the meaning of which will be best understood from the example for it given by Patañjali. According to the latter, instead of saying *ārātrivivāsam ācaṣṭe*, we may say *rātrim vivāsayati*; i.e., we may employ the causal of the root from which the noun *vivāsa* is derived, drop the preposition *ā*, and make *rātri* dependent on the causal *vivāsayati*. By the wording of Kātyāyana's rule *ārātrivivāsam ācaṣṭe* must mean 'he tells (stories) the whole night, until the night grows light' (i.e. till daybreak), and the same, therefore, should be the meaning of Patañjali's example *rātrim vivāsayati*. I have some doubts as to Patañjali's explanation of the Vārttika, and in particular as to whether he should not have said more fully *ācakṣāṇo rātrim vivāsayati*; however this may be, a correct example for Kātyāyana's rule is clearly furnished by the above sentence, *namassamāno vivasemi rattim*.¹ The literal translation of this sentence would be 'worshipping I cause the night to grow light,' which, according to the Vārttika, in Sanskrit would be equivalent to *ārātrivivāsam namasyāmi*, 'I worship the whole night, until the night grows light' (i.e. till daybreak).

I am surprised to see that in the St. Petersburg dictionary, where the word *vivāsa* of *ārātrivivāsam* is correctly derived from *vas* 'to shine,' the causal *vivāsayati* of *rātrim vivāsayati* is placed under *vas* 'to dwell.' This surely is due to an

¹ For the (short) *a* of the causal *vivasemi* compare e.g. *Jāt.*, vol. ii, p. 178, l. 20, *upatāpeti* (for *upatāpeti*).

oversight, because *vivāsa* and *vivāsayati* must necessarily be derived from one and the same root.

In Vārttika 10 on Pāṇini iii, 1, 26, Kātyāyana gives another rule for the employment of the causal, by which, e.g. in the sentence *Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyām sūryodgamanam sambhāvayate*, 'having started from Ujjayinī he meets sunrise at Māhiṣmatī' (i.e. he reaches M. at sunrise), for the two last Sanskrit words we may use *sūryam udgamayati*, 'having started from U. he causes the sun to rise at M.' With this we may compare *suriyam utthāpesi* and *arunaṁ utthāpesi*, which occur several times in the *Jātaka*s : compare e.g. *Jāt.*, vol. i, p. 318, l. 19, *aggim vjāletum asakkonti suriyam utthāpesi*, 'unable to get the fire to burn she caused the sun to rise' (i.e. the sun rose while she was still unable to get the fire to burn); p. 103, l. 22; p. 399, l. 14; vol. vi, p. 330, l. 15, etc. The difference between Sanskrit and Pāli here is, that in Sanskrit the causal, according to Kātyāyana, is to be used in this manner only when some astonishing feat (such as the accomplishment of the journey from U. to M. in one night) is described, while in Pāli there apparently is no such restriction.

F. KIELHORN.

Gottingen.

March 4th, 1904.

PRONOMINAL PREFIXES IN THE LAI DIALECT.

In the January number of the Journal Mr. Tilbe draws attention to the use of pronominal prefixes with verbs in the Lai dialect in order to denote the person of the subject. The same use of pronominal prefixes is characteristic of a long series of Tibeto-Burman dialects, which will be dealt with in the Linguistic Survey of India as the Kuki-Chin group. I have given a short account of those dialects in a paper which was originally printed for use under the last Census, and which later on was published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. lvi, pp. 486 ff. I there

tried to show that the use of the pronominal prefixes in those forms of speech is due to the common tendency observable in all Tibeto-Burman languages to avoid abstract terms. The verb, which is virtually a noun, is always put into relation to some other noun as its subject.

I still think that this explanation is the correct one. It is, however, possible that another factor has been at work as well. The Kuki-Chin prefixes are used in the same way as the Muṇḍā suffixes, which are added to the word immediately preceding the verb. Compare e.g. Santālī *koṛa-e ṇur-en-a*, 'boy-he fell, the boy fell,' where the suffix *e*, 'he,' shows that the subject of the verb *ṇur-en-a* is of the third person.

We do not know anything about the old history of the Kuki-Chin tribes. It is, however, possible that they were at some time influenced by Muṇḍā tribes, and the distinction of the person of the subject by means of pronominal prefixes may accordingly be due to a double reason.

Muṇḍā tribes must once have lived in many districts where they have now disappeared. The dialects spoken by several Tibeto-Burman tribes in the Himalayas show distinct traces of Muṇḍā influence, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that some Muṇḍā tribe once lived in the neighbourhood of the Kuki-Chins.

STEN KONOW.

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THE VERSE 18 OF THE HARṢACARITA.

In spite of being perhaps taxed with tediousness I venture to present another translation of this verse already examined by various scholars in this Journal (see above, pp. 155 sqq.). It seems to me that one of the ways of coming to a right understanding of a difficult passage is to take into consideration the context. Now Bāṇa, after having extolled the works of other poets, which brought them fame and splendour, hesitates to follow their example before the difficult task of finding terms adequate to the greatness of

his patron's deeds. A fine compliment indeed, and duly couched in the following terms :—

“My tongue held back, as it were, by ‘Ādhyarāja’s achievements, engraved in my heart, refuses to chant, although I remember them well.”

J. KIRSTE.

CHALDEAN PRINCES ON THE THRONE OF BABYLON.

An interesting paper has been contributed to the *Churchman* of October and November last by the Rev. C. Boutflower, Vicar of Terling (Essex), entitled “Chaldean Princes on the Throne of Babylon.” Beginning with a statement of the views of various scholars upon the subject, and their opinions as to the origin of the Chaldeans and their name, he shows that the word first occurs in the inscriptions of Aššur-našir-āpli, father of Shalmaneser II, the king who, to all appearance, was the first to come into contact with the Jews. This text informs us that, in or about the year 879 B.C., the Chaldeans occupied the southern part of Babylonia, and were under the rule of Nabû-ābla-iddina, “who was probably a Chaldean himself.” All the occasions when the Chaldeans came into contact with the Assyrians, in the reigns of Shalmaneser II, Šamši-Rammanu (Šamši-Addu), Rammanu-nirari (Adad-nirari), and Tiglath-pileser III, are then recounted, with many interesting details. His arguments tend to show that many of the Babylonian dynasties in the canon of kings published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May 6th, 1884, were really Chaldean, so that “‘Ur of the Chaldees’ may well have been in the hands of that people at the time when Moses wrote the Pentateuch.” Whether the composition of the names of early Babylonian kings constitute real evidence or not, is a question which requires the test of time, but there is very great probability that the presence of Merodach, Bêl, and Nebo, as component parts of them, may be an indication of the Chaldean nationality of those who bore them. The dynasty to which

Nebuchadnezzar the Great belongs has long been thought to be Chaldean, and as Mr. Boutflower remarks: "The name of one of the gods Nebo or Merodach is found to form an element in the name of every prince of the family of Nabopolassar, and we have thus a further proof of the Chaldean origin of that family."

THE CHALDEANS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

In a further article (January, 1904) the Rev. C. Boutflower continues his studies of the subject. He points out that it is a mistake to regard the word Chaldean as having ever been equivalent to 'astrologer,' or any similar term, in Babylonia itself—this usage was only current among the nations with which the Babylonians came into contact. The Babylonian kings, moreover (even those regarded as being of Chaldean race), never speak of themselves as being Chaldeans. It therefore seemed well-nigh impossible to identify personages of Chaldean nationality in the inscriptions of Babylonia. Mr. Boutflower suggests, with a considerable amount of probability, that Chaldea was known by the term used elsewhere to designate its chief state, namely, 'the Country of the Sea.' A very striking tablet, of which he gives a translation, affords, by the personal names which it contains, a noteworthy contribution to the confirmation of this view. These are Nabû-êṣir-napšāti, the governor of the Country of the Sea; Nabû-šuzziz-anni, the deputy-governor of the same place; Marduk-iriba, the mayor of Erech; Imbi-Sin, priest of Ur; Bêl-uballiṣ, the governor of 'the other side'; and a few more whose owners apparently do not belong to that district. Here, in addition to names implying Chaldean nationality, we have mention of a district admittedly forming a part of Chaldea in its restricted sense.

If 'the Land of the Sea' be the usual Babylonian designation of Chaldea, this throws a very interesting light upon the poetical inscription which I have called the Legend of Chedorlaomer. We have there a statement that a deity

whose name is doubtful caused a personage named Ibe-Tutu¹ (a name probably meaning, 'Speak, Merodach') to enter within Tiamtu, the country of the sea, and that he founded there *la-šubat-su*, 'not his seat,' apparently meaning a pseudo or temporary capital. If this inscription really refers to Chedorlaomer, or goes back in any way to early times, as its archaic poetical form implies, it gives to the Chaldeans in Babylonia a very respectable antiquity, and in that case the phrase 'Ur of the Chaldees' would not have been an anachronism even in the time of Abraham. Judging from the Assyrian inscriptions, the Babylonians did not like the Chaldeans, though they had to acknowledge their rule, and if the latter attained their power and influence at the early date for which Mr. Boutflower contends, the reason why the Babylonians were called Chaldeans by the nations around is clear.

TALMUDISCHE UND MIDRASCHISCHE PARALLELEN ZUM BABYLONISCHEN WELTSCHÖPFUNGSEPOS.

An interesting article thus entitled has been contributed by Dr. S. Daiches to the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xvii, 1903. As is now well known, the legend of the fight between Bel and the Dragon, as recounted in the Babylonian story of the Creation, had acquired currency among the Hebrews, as also, in all probability, among the nations of Western Asia in general, at a comparatively early date, and references to details of the story are found in Isaiah, the Psalms, and the Book of Job. It was therefore to be expected that something would be said about it in the Jewish commentaries on the Old Testament, and what is stated in the *Midrash rabba*, *Parsha Korach*, sect. 18, is given in full by the author of the paper. From

¹ *Ibe* as the transcription of the first element is that generally preferred, but *Ine-Tutu* is also possible, as given in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October, 1903, p. 843. The text published by Weissbach, which is there referred to, shows that 'the land of the sea' was at one time ruled by a Kassite dynasty.

this it would seem that Rahab was regarded as the name of the 'prince of the sea,' to whom God, when the former said that it was enough that he should contain his own water, without swallowing all the water of the beginning, gave a blow and slew him, because it is said (Job xxvi, 12), "He stirreth up the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab" (R.V.). Reference is then made to the sea being shut in with doors and bolts (cf. Job xxxviii, 8); to the sand having been placed to fix its boundary (Jer. v, 22), etc. In the expressions **בָּעָטָהּ**, 'he stood upon it,' i.e. the sea, we have a parallel with the phrase in the Babylonian Creation-story *êli-ša izaza*, 'he (Merodach) stood upon her,' and the idea is repeated in the line *ikbus-na bêlu^m ša Tiamatum išid-sa*, 'then trampled the lord upon the trunk (?) of Tiamthu' (Tablet IV, line 129). In lines 139 and 140 of the same tablet is a reference to the bolts which Merodach set in order that the waters of Tiamthu, after he had divided her, and set one half as a covering for the heavens, should not come forth; though whether this refers to the waters above the firmament, or those below, or both, is not quite clear. Further passages are quoted, all of considerable interest.

The same author has also a note concerning the much-discussed Habiri question, "against whose identification with the Hebrews, as is well known, there is much to be said." He refers to the existence of the root **חברא** (also **חבר**, pl. **חברִים**, **חברִי**), which is frequently referred to in the Talmud, and asks whether a connection between this and the Habiri of the Tell el-Amarna letters may not be possible.

T. G. P.

SANTĀNA.

In a note on the soul-theory in Buddhism, published in the Journal of last July (p. 591), I said that I had not yet traced the *santāna*-hypothesis in the traditions of the southern scholasticism. I am now able to modify that statement to this extent, that I have met with the term

santāna in three of Buddhaghosa's commentaries, used apparently, at least in two of three passages, to denote the flow or continuum of subjective experience. In the Commentary on the Majjhima-Nikāya (Papañca-Sūdanī, *apud* Anaṅgaṇa-Sutta), I find *cittasantāne kilesā atthiti na jñāti*. In the Commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (Atthasālinī, p. 63), I find—on *cittaṃ* considered as object of *cittaṃ* (or self-consciousness)—*attano santānaṃ cinotīti cittaṃ*. In the third passage, which I met with last night only, in the Commentary on the Vibhanga (Sammohavinodanī, fol. ki), the allusion is to a time-continuum, viewed, of course, as subjective experience, but not explicitly given in terms of *cittaṃ* or *viññāṇaṃ* : . . . *santānavasena pavattamānaṃ taṃ taṃ samayaṃ paccuppannaṃ nāma*. The passage, however, leads me to hope that, further on, under *viññāṇakkhandho*, I may meet interesting instances of the term. I may then be able to furnish new materials to set beside those which Professor de la Vallée Poussin has contributed to this important point in early Indian psychology by his *Recherches*, and now again by his *Nouvelles Recherches* on *attā* and *kammaphalaṃ* in the *Journal Asiatique*. It may prove of no small historical value to discover that the psychological culture of Buddhaghosa's time and circle were closely allied with that revealed in this and that Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

Nālanda, Forest Hill.

BHŪMAKA : A NEWLY DISCOVERED MEMBER OF THE
KṢAHARĀTA DYNASTY.

In Pandit Bhagvānlāl's article on "The Western Kshatras," edited by me in the *Journal* for 1890, mention is made (p. 643) of certain "copper coins, which are found in the coasting regions of Gujarāt and Kathiāwād, and also sometimes in Mālwa." The inscriptions could not then be read, but the coins were conjecturally attributed, on the ground of similarity in types, to Nahapāna. After having an amount of oxide removed from one of the Pandit's

specimens some time ago, I found that a comparison of the letters thus newly brought to light with the traces preserved by other specimens made a complete restoration of the inscriptions possible. The coin-legend in question, like those of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, is given in both Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters. Different specimens show indications of slightly varying readings, but the general description of this class of coins is as follows:—

Obv. Arrow, discus,¹ and thunderbolt; (Kharoṣṭhī)
Chaharatasa chatrapasa Bhūmakasa.

Rev. The capital of a column, consisting of a *dharmacakra* (r.) and lion, facing r. (l.) standing on a base;
(Brāhmī) *Kṣaharātasa kṣatrapasa Bhūmakasa.*

There are six specimens in the British Museum—four from the Pandit's collection, one from the Cunningham collection (figured in *Coins of Mediæval India*, pl. i, 4), and one, which I found among a number of 'uncertain' coins, marked "E. Conolly, Oct. 1837." As these vary in size from .8 to .55 of an inch, and in weight from 69.8 to 31.3 grains, they must evidently represent more than one denomination.

I shall hope to have some future opportunity of describing these coins more fully. My object at present is merely to call attention to the existence of another member of a family of satraps, of which only one member (Nahapāna) has hitherto been known.

The coins of Bhūmaka seem to supply an important link between the bronze coins of Nahapāna and those struck conjointly by the Pahlava² Spalirises and the Śaka Azes. Bhūmaka and Nahapāna have in common the reverse type

¹ The dot, or small circle, which is to be seen on well-preserved specimens between the arrow and the thunderbolt must, I think, be intended to represent a discus. It is seen very clearly on the silver coins of Nahapāna, on some of the lead and billon coins of the Andhras (v. V. A. Smith, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1903, p. 12), and on some of the coins of the Scythic princes of Northern India (v. *inf.*, p. 373, note 1).

² For this dynasty, which seems to be the result of some sort of alliance between the Parthian (Pahlava) dynasty of Vonones and the Śaka dynasty of Manes, v. my *Indian Coins*, §§ 30, 31.

"Arrow, discus, and thunderbolt"—perhaps the emblems of the Kṣaharāta family. The bronze coins struck conjointly by Spalirises and Azes have for their reverse type a very similar collection of emblems, "Discus, bow and arrow."¹ The larger bronze coins of Bhūmaka hold, as regards their size, an intermediate position: they are smaller than those of Spalirises and Azes, and larger than those of Nahapāna. As regards fabric and quality of metal, they resemble the coins of Spalirises and Azes rather than those of Nahapāna.

On Bhūmaka's coins the Kharoṣṭhī inscription holds a position of equal importance with the Brāhmī inscription. From Nahapāna's bronze coins it seems to have disappeared altogether, while it takes a subordinate position on his silver coins. As I have already pointed out,² this gradual disuse of Kharoṣṭhī on Western coins is explained by the fact that it was essentially a Northern alphabet which ceased to flourish when it was transplanted to Western India.

All the available evidence, therefore, derived from considerations of the type, fabric, metal, and epigraphy of the coins seems to show that Bhūmaka came before Nahapāna. It also strengthens the view that the kṣatrapas of the Kṣaharāta family, as well as the kṣatrapas of the family of Caṣṭana, acknowledged the suzerainty of some Pahlava or Pahlava-Śaka dynasty of Northern India.³

The discovery of the Kṣaharāta Bhūmaka makes it improbable that Nahapāna himself was the founder of the Śaka era—a view held by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī,⁴ and since ably maintained by M. l'Abbé Boyer⁵; but it does not affect the probability of the theory that the era was established by the overlord of the Kṣaharāta dynasty, whoever he may have been, who was reigning when his

¹ Gardner, B. M. Cat., *Greek and Scythic Kings*, etc., p. 102, No. 5, pl. xxii, 4. The circular symbol is no doubt intended to represent a discus.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, p. 372.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 377. Is it possible that the form *dāman*, which is so characteristic of their names, can be simply a Hinduised representative of the Pahlava or Śaka *dama* seen in 'Spalaga-dama'?

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, 1890, p. 642.

⁵ *Journ. As.*, 1897 (sér. ix, tome x), p. 120.

dominions were extended to Western India by the conquest of the Andhras.”¹

E. J. RAISON.

JAPANESE SOCIETY FOR ORIENTAL RESEARCH.—In connection with the work of this Society, Professor Takakusu has now arrived in London to work at the contemplated Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary, which it is intended to make very elaborate and complete, including also the corresponding Pali and Tibetan forms, where such exist.

SIAMESE EDITION OF THE PALI CANONICAL BOOKS.—A committee has been appointed by the King of Siam to superintend a new edition of these books, the first edition being now nearly exhausted. The same committee will also publish a complete edition of the old Pali commentaries. The first volume of this latter series, vol. i of the *Mangalattha-dīpanī*, has already appeared. Both texts and commentaries are also being published privately in Burma.

¹ Pandit Bhagvānlāl, in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xvi (Nāsik), p. 618, wrote. “This much seems almost certain, that the overlord or founder of the Kshatrapas was one Vonones, who was either a Parthian king or a Parthian adventurer.” This is quite possible; but I do not think it possible that (to continue the Pandit’s statement) “the date on Kshatrapa coins and inscriptions is of this Parthian overlord.” It seems to me certain that the Śaka era is used both by Nahapāna and the succeeding family of Caṣṭana; and the date of Vonones cannot be so late as 78 A.D.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1904.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

January 12th, 1904.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Miss A. A. Smith,
Mr. M. R. Jayakar,
Mr. M. B. Kolasker,
Mr. S. Chandra Mukherji, and
Mr. M. A. Husain Khan

had been elected members of the Society.

Colonel Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., unveiled and presented to the Society a memorial tablet executed in memory of Dr. Rost, formerly Secretary of the Society. He referred in his speech to the extraordinary linguistic powers of Dr. Rost. As a child he knew Greek, and before he was 20 he had mastered most of the European languages. Then he turned his serious attention to Eastern tongues, studying Arabic, Pali, Sanskrit, Tamil, Marathi, Tibetan, Chinese, Swahili, Malay, Persian, and Burmese. He took his Doctor's degree at the age of 24, choosing Singalese grammar for his thesis. Coming to England at the age of 31, he was appointed Oriental Teacher at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury; the list of languages—eastern and western—which he knew and taught is so long and varied that "there was hardly anything he could not read." In early manhood he suffered the disappointment of his cherished hope of going to India to study on the spot

the learning which had so fascinated him from a child. Though the abandonment of his desire was a keen sorrow to him, he threw himself into the duties that fell to his lot with splendid enthusiasm. In 1863 he was appointed Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, and in 1869 became Librarian at the India Office. His hospitality to scholars and to those interested in Oriental thought was proverbial; he was most self-sacrificing and lavish in the time he devoted to those to whom he could render any service. His encouraging help to correspondents evoked countless expressions of gratitude. Sir Richard Temple instanced his own experience of the Doctor's kindly sympathy and encouragement. He told how, at the time when he began to edit Oriental books and journals, Dr. Rost wrote to congratulate him on undertaking a work which brought no selfish advantage. He would never write books with the idea of attaining fame or leaving behind him a great name; his one aim throughout his life was to help forward Oriental studies. As a man he was most lovable and kindly. His was a busy and noble life, quiet and peaceful. "I count it one of the honours of my life," said Sir Richard Temple, "to be associated on this occasion with so worthy a man and so great a scholar."

The Rev. E. R. Orger, formerly Subwarden of St. Augustine's College, said he had gladly accepted an invitation to say a few words, chiefly in reference to the part of Dr. Rost's life which was spent in Canterbury. Soon after he had taken his Degree in 1847 he formed the plan of coming to England with the hope of getting some employment in India. His desire was to study on the spot the languages and other matters connected with that land in which he took so deep an interest. He brought some good introductions, such as one from Alexander von Humboldt to Bunsen; but he found that India was closed to all who did not come from Haileybury, and he had no interest to enable him to go to Ceylon. After a time of struggle, during which he maintained himself by occasional employments like that of cataloguing the Pāli MSS. in the British Museum, and by

private tuition, he accepted the post of German Master at the King's School in Canterbury, in 1850. But the stipend was not enough to free him from the necessity of giving lessons in German in Canterbury and the neighbourhood. Three years later he was appointed Reader in Oriental Languages at St. Augustine's, an office newly instituted with the help of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Henceforth, till his marriage, he lived in college, and shared in its daily life. In the Summer of 1863 he brought a charming young wife from Germany, and before the end of the year he was appointed to the Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society. But, as you have already heard, neither this nor his subsequent duties as Librarian of the India Office terminated his connection with St. Augustine's. It is not necessary to say that he was respected and loved by his pupils—with some of whom he kept up a correspondence in later years—and by his colleagues. He gained the warm regard of all with whom he had to do. I can say with truth that I never knew so modest a scholar, or I may go further, a more modest man.

Mr. Adolphus Rost said: Sir Charles Lyall, Sir Richard Temple, ladies and gentlemen,—As the only representative of my father's family here in this country, I have the honour to thank Sir Richard and my old friend Mr. Orger for the most kind words which they have just spoken about my father, and need I say how deeply I feel those kind words and how difficult it is for me to express my gratitude sufficiently. Few men have had such a kind father, who was always ready to do good and to help others before he thought of himself, and I only hope that I may always do honour to his name. It is perhaps a curious coincidence that I should have been born at the rooms of this Society, and, as you may easily conceive, it was far from my expectations that when I saw daylight I should have the privilege of executing a memorial to my own father and to have it erected in this Society. I should like to say a few words about the memorial. Three in all have been executed; one, a replica of this one here, has been erected

at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, and unveiled by Canon Baly. A second tablet has been erected at Eisenberg, where my father was born; and the third tablet, which is before you, will be put up by the staircase. I may say that it was the original intention to erect the London memorial at the India Office Library, and permission had been obtained to do so, but unfortunately it was found that the memorial could not be erected there, as no memorial of the same nature had been erected there before. I should like to pay a tribute to the late Mr. C. Luzac, who so kindly undertook to act as Hon. Secretary to the Memorial Committee, and who was called away from among us before he could see the result of his labours. I will not trespass further upon the time of this distinguished company, so I will once more thank Sir Richard Temple for his great kindness in coming here to unveil this memorial, and tender my sincerest thanks to him and to Mr. Orger for the very kind words which they have spoken about my father, and I feel highly honoured at being present at this ceremony.

Professor Rhys Davids said that Dr. Rost had that rare intellectual gift which was ever reaching out for something new and unknown. If a scholar specialized on a special subject, he might win modest fame and financial advantage; but as soon as Dr. Rost had mastered the elements of one language, he started on another. He had studied Singalese for his degree; interesting and instructive as its study was, he turned his attention to Pāli; one of the earliest articles he published soon after he came to England was on a Burmese MS. of Pāli law which he found in the British Museum. Later in his life he devoted himself to the study of Malay. All through, new work was undertaken for its own keen intellectual pleasure—a very rare quality.

Sir Charles Lyall, on behalf of the Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, accepted with sincere appreciation the Memorial to Dr. Rost. Sir Charles remarked that the memorial in the possession of the Society was in a most fitting place, and he mentioned that at the India Office there

is an excellent bust of Dr. Rost, placed near the Library, in addition to which a medallion has also been placed in the librarian's room. Speaking from personal knowledge of Dr. Rost, Sir Charles remarked that he was always more ready to give than others were to appropriate what he had to give. He was self-effacing and helpful, with an immense breadth of knowledge, and nothing gave him greater pleasure than to help one who really wished to learn. He regretted the unavoidable absence of Sir Frank Swettenham, to whom the study of Malay had also appealed. The attraction of Malay for Dr. Rost seemed to be the operation of the Aryan system of civilization on another race of people. Sir Charles stated that he had himself been interested in a similar manner on a similar ethnical frontier. When in Assam he had noted the influence of the Aryan civilization on a Mongolian people. "Nothing further remains for me to do," said Sir Charles in conclusion, "but to bear my testimony to Dr. Rost as a most excellent man and a most excellent scholar."

February 9th, 1904.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

The Rev. O. Hanson,
Professor Jogendra Ghose,
Mr. Alfred Dobree,
Mr. Givendranath Dutt,
Mr. J. Chandra Das Gupta, and
Hon. Munshi Madho Lal

had been elected members of the Society.

The President said: Since our last meeting we have to deplore the loss of our distinguished member Professor S. Arthur Strong. It is impossible to overestimate our loss. Strong's intellectual endowments were exceptionally versatile; in him intellect was transcendent. His critical

powers were of the highest and rarest order, whether exercised in the domain of philology, literature, or art. On every subject handled by him he threw a flood of light. The strength and vigour of his mind were in strange contrast with the delicate physical appearance of the man. Perhaps the most striking feature of his character was its sturdy independence. His individuality was so marked that he was uninfluenced by environment, and without any need of self-assertion or evidence of his native scorn for Philistinism, his personality could not fail to receive its due recognition. He was perfectly simple and without affectation, his only object in life being the vindication of truth; and when once he had convinced himself that a conclusion was right, nothing would hinder him from stating it, heedless of all consequences. His moral courage was as great as his intellectual strength. Compromise was alien to his nature. His sincerity was absolute. The light of his mind brought to bear on any subject of research was so illumining as to dispel cherished prejudices. One never met Strong without being impressed by his originality, and without deriving profit therefrom. At the best of times, but especially now, we can ill afford to lose such a man. He would have risen to a very high place in that international areopagus of learning which now controls the destinies of science in its widest sense. Strong would have impressed the French by his literary acumen, the Germans by his thoroughness, the Italians by his sense of art. The men capable of holding such a position are few. Leighton and Acton we have lost, and now the premature death of Strong inflicts an irreparable loss on English culture. Irreparable it is to Mrs. Strong, who was able to share as well as to appreciate the work of her gifted husband.

A paper was read by Professor Rapson entitled "In what degree was Sanskrit a Spoken Language?"

A discussion followed, in which Professor Rhys Davids, Professor Bendall, and Mr. Thomas took part.

March 8th, 1904.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.
It was announced that—

Dr. Sarruf,
Mr. W. Gornold, and
Mr. Khaja Khan Sahib

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. F. W. Thomas opened the adjourned discussion “In what degree was Sanskrit a Spoken Language?”

Dr. Grierson, Dr. Fleet, Mr. Vaidya, and Mr. Krishna Varma took part. The discussion will appear in full in the July Journal.

II. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Ernest Ayscoghe Floyer, M.R.A.S., Mem. Inst. Égypt.

MR. E. A. FLOYER, Inspector General of Egyptian Telegraphs, who died at Cairo on December 1st, 1903, at the age of 51, was the eldest surviving son of the Rev. Ayscoghe Floyer and of Louisa Sara, daughter of the Hon. Frederick John Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service. He was educated by the Rev. C. Boys at Wing Rectory, Rutland, and afterwards at the Charterhouse, until 1869, when he received an appointment in the Indian Telegraph Service, being then in his 17th year. During the next seven years he was stationed on the coast of the Persian Gulf. In January, 1876, when he received his long leave, although at the time seriously ill, he started, on his own responsibility, for the unexplored interior of Baluchistan. His observations and surveys on the difficult and dangerous series of journeys which occupied him until May, 1877 (when he returned to England), earned him the reputation of a bold and intelligent explorer at the age of three and twenty. Shortly after his return to England he was appointed Inspector General of

Egyptian Telegraphs, and went out to take up the appointment in January, 1878. This post he held for twenty-five years until his death in 1903. The department, which had hitherto been conducted at a heavy loss, he so reorganized as to yield a substantial annual surplus, and, as an expert upon questions of telegraphic tariff, he represented Egypt efficiently at the International Telegraphic Congresses. For his services to the military authorities during the campaigns of the eighties he was granted the medal "Egypt, 1882," with clasp "The Nile, 1884-5," in connection with the Tel-el-Kebir campaign, and the Gordon Relief Expedition respectively; and received also the Khedive's "Bronze Star." In 1884 he contributed to the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society a note "On the Nile Route from Halfa to Debba," and in 1887 he surveyed "Two Routes in the Eastern Desert of Egypt" between the Nile and the Red Sea (about N. lat. 26°). In 1891 he was appointed by the Khedive to the command of an important expedition in the more southern part of the same desert, about N. lat. 24°. In this expedition he located and examined the extensive emerald-mines of Sikait and Zabbara, which have been worked at various epochs from very early times, and have now been reopened owing to Mr. Floyer's report of their potentialities. The results of the expedition, antiquarian, scientific, and economic, were fully described in his official publication *Étude sur la Nord-Etbai* (Cairo, 1893). It is a matter of great regret that this remarkable book was not translated into English and published in this country, where the author's "Unexplored Baluchistan" (Griffith & Farran) had appeared in 1882.

During the last ten years of his life, while continuing his linguistic, antiquarian, and scientific work, he gave much attention to the economic development of desert land in Egypt. He originated the Nitrate Mission to Upper Egypt, personally directing the work of extracting the salts; and also became "Director of Plantations, State Railways, and Telegraphs of Egypt." The management of this sub-department "for growing trees and economic

plants which may be profitably cultivated upon waste land" was his particular delight. He grew the *cactus* (for fibre), the *casuarina* (telegraph poles), the *Ficus elastica* (yielding rubber), besides the *Hyoscyamus muticus* (yielding a valuable alkaloid), and many other plants.

He was much beloved by the native employés of his widely spread administration (as the present writer can testify from personal knowledge). Doubtless his perfect mastery of the Arabic was a great help towards the attainment of their confidence, but more was due to the deep-seated kindness of his nature.

He married, in 1887, Mary Louisa, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Richards Watson, of Saltfleetby St. Peters, co. Lincoln, who survives him; and leaves three sons, Ernest Ayscoghe, William Anthony, and John Wadham.

The following list of Mr. Floyer's publications is as full as I can make it, but owing to his books and papers being still at Cairo, where his lamented and sudden death occurred, it is not improbable that the list is incomplete. I am, however, sufficiently acquainted with my cousin's work to know that this schedule fairly represents his intellectual activities outside the sphere of his administration of the Egyptian Telegraphs. I may add that those who, being unacquainted with his writings, may wish to consult them, will find a store of curious and out-of-the-way facts, and the reflections of an original mind, endowed with a combination of faculties peculiarly suited to grapple with the varied problems encountered among primitive peoples and during exploration in countries as yet imperfectly studied.

VAUGHAN CORNISH, D.Sc., F.R.G.S.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF MR. E. A. FLOYER'S PUBLICATIONS.

1877. *Report of the British Association*: "On Bashakard in Western Baluchistan." (Abstract of paper read before the Geographical Section.)
1877. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xlvii, pp. 188-201: "Journal of a Route from Jask to Bampur."

1882. "Unexplored Baluchistan." (Griffith & Farran. Roy. 8vo; pp. 507, with twelve illustrations and a map.) This work contains the narratives of (1) a journey of exploration from Jask to Bampur; (2) a tour in the Persian Gulf, in which the Island of Henjan and other places were visited; (3) a journey of exploration from Jask to Kirman *via* Anguhran; (4) a journey from Kirman *via* Yezd and Ispahan to Baghdad and Basra, and by sea to England. The period occupied by these journeys was from January, 1876, to May, 1877. Appendix A contains observations on some dialects of Western Baluchistan and others akin to them. Appendix B, list of plants collected. Appendix C, "Geography," contains a list of 47 localities whose positions were determined by sextant and chronometer. Appendix D, meteorological observations from November 1st, 1876, to March 1st, 1877, *en route* from Jask to Baghdad.
1884. *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*: "On the Nile Route from Halfa to Debba." A short note on the stages of the journey.
1884. *The Times*, September 5th, p. 4: "Turks and Persians." A letter of considerable interest relating to the politics, trade, and agriculture of Koweit, Muhammerah, and the lower Karun.
1887. *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, ix, p. 659 et seq.: "Two Routes in the Eastern Desert of Egypt," between the Nile and the Red Sea, with map by the author of route from Kosseir to Jimsah.
1887. *Report of the British Association*, p. 801: "Between the Nile and the Red Sea." (Abstract of paper read before the Geographical Section.)
1891. *Athenaeum*, May 23rd, June 27th, and August 8th. "Explorations in Eastern Egypt." (A narrative written *en route*.) This and the next seven entries refer to the Northern Etbai Expedition of 1891.
1892. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, pp. 811-833: "The Mines of the Northern Etbai or of Northern Æthiopia," with a Map, Water-colour Drawings, and Lithographs, by the Scientific Expedition to the Northern Etbai. (This paper deals with the archæological results of the expedition.)
1892. *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xlviii, p. 576 et seq.: "Notes on the Geology of the Northern Etbai." The author considers the supposition of a "pluvial epoch" not to be necessary in order to account for the aqueous erosion observed in this district.

1892. *Bull. Soc. Khédiviale de Géographie*, Série iii, Numero 9 :
 "Note sur les Sidoniens et les Erembes d'Homère."
1892. *Kew Bulletin*, December : "Disappearance of Desert Plants in Egypt." (Attributed to the arrival of the Arab and his camel.)
1893. *Geographical Journal*, May, pp. 408-431, illustrated :
 "Further Routes in the Eastern Desert of Egypt." (The best general summary of the results of the expedition of 1891, with a good account of the re-discovery of the Emerald Mines.)
1893. "Étude sur la Nord-Ethai entre le Nil et la Mer Rouge," avec quatre cartes et quinze illustrations, pp. 192, 4to, Caire, 1893. (Mr. Floyer's official account of the expedition.)
1894. *Institut Égyptien* : "Note sur l'emploi d'une Argile comme Fertilisant dans la Haute-Egypte." (Reference is here made to the author's discovery of Nitrate of Soda in the expedition of 1891.)
1894. *Institut Égyptien* : "Identification de la moderne Kéneh avec l'ancienne Καινήπολις et arguments qu'on peut tirer de sa situation géographique actuelle."
1894. *Institut Égyptien*, February 2nd : "L'Ancien mur de Dendera, Tentyris, Coptos ou Ombos."
1894. *Institut Égyptien* (read December 7th) : "Note sur quelques plantes utiles" [les plus propres à relayer les sols sablonneux, etc.].
1895. *Institut Égyptien* (read January 11th) : "Quelques tombeaux inexplorés aux environs de Mualla."
1895. *Institut Égyptien* (read March 2nd, 1894, published February 4th, 1895) : "Les Cadres Solaires Primitifs dans la Haute-Egypte."
1895. *Athenæum*, October 5th : "Primitive Sundials in Upper Egypt."
1895. *Institut Égyptien* (read May 3rd) : "L'Abaissement de la Culture et les nitrates de soude en Egypte." In this is included a copy of report by the author as "chef de la mission des nitrates dans la Haute-Egypte" to the Under-Secretary of State for Public Works.
1896. *Institut Égyptien* (read Nov. 8th, 1895) : "L'Age du Grès Nubien, et note sur l'érosion par le vent et l'eau" (illustrated by photographs, plans, and sections). Contains an account of a cloud-burst at Helwan, near Cairo, and of its effect in erosion and transport of material. An important contribution (in which the author was assisted by Dr. Georg Schweinfurth)

to our knowledge of erosion by water in desert regions. The author continues the discussion on the age of the Nubian Sandstone and on a "pluvial epoch" commenced in the Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc., 1892, vol. xlviii.

1896. *Institut Égyptien*: "La Culture du Sisal en Egypte." Rapport Annuel, 2^{me} Année, 1896.

1897. *Kew Bulletin*, December: Correspondence with Mr. Floyer relating to "the promising result of an attempt to produce rubber from *Ficus elastica* in Egypt."

1898. *Geographical Journal*, May, pp. 559-563: "Notes on Mr. Vaughan Cornish's Paper on the Formation of Sand Dunes, in Geogr. Journ., March, 1897." Illustrated by sketches of sand dunes between Kuntara and El Arish. These sandhills were subsequently visited by Dr. Vaughan Cornish (at Mr. Floyer's suggestion and with his assistance in the matter of transport). A paper by Dr. Cornish "On Sand Dunes bordering the Nile Delta" (Geogr. Journ., January, 1900) contains some account of Mr. Floyer's plantation experiments, with illustrations.

During the revision of proofs I have received, through the kindness of H.E. Yacoub Artin Pasha, President *Inst. Egypt.*, copies of the papers read by Mr. Floyer before the *Institut*, which, in addition to those cited above, include the following:—

1896. February 7th: "Notes relatives aux récentes découvertes sur les phénomènes de nitrification dans les sols arables."

1896. February 7th: "Evaporation quotidienne d'une eau provenant de la lissive des argiles à nitrate (à Moualla)."

1896. November 6th: "Lettre sur le résultat de ses recherches sur les puits forés en Egypte, et relevé des coupes par M. Joannidis."

V. C.

S. Arthur Strong.

WE much regret to learn that Mr. Sandford Arthur Strong, Librarian to the House of Lords, died on January 18th. He had been out of health since last Spring, but lately he was thought to be convalescent, and the end came with unexpected quickness. He was only 40 years of age, having been born in 1863, one of the three sons of Mr. Thomas Banks Strong, who till lately was chief clerk in the Adjutant-General's department at the War Office. One of his two brothers is the present Dean of Christ Church. Arthur Strong went as a boy to St. Paul's School. Doubtless it will come as a surprise to many to learn that from school he passed at the early age of 15 into Lloyd's, where he remained from 1878 to 1880. In spite of marked business capacity, however, the attraction of scholarship proved too strong and drew him to a University career. He entered first King's College, London, and went subsequently to St. John's College, Cambridge. The fact that he was handicapped by a break in study at a critical period of intellectual development, the delicacy of his health, and above all the rebellion of an original mind against prescribed lines of study sufficiently explain why Strong did not achieve much distinction of the accepted Academic kind. Yet in the light of his subsequent achievement it is instructive to note that this great scholar was twice judged unworthy of a Fellowship at his old College. At Cambridge, however, he came under the influence of Professor Cowell, with whom he studied Sanskrit and other Oriental languages, and he quickly developed extraordinary powers in this direction, which were soon to win him recognition in wider circles than those in which he had so far moved.

If Cambridge, then, scarcely proved a true *alma mater* towards one of the most gifted of her sons, Oxford now showed herself a kind foster-mother. Thither Strong migrated in 1885, having been appointed Librarian and Sub-Keeper, under Sir Monier Williams, to the newly founded Indian Institute. There also, in Oxford's genial

and humane atmosphere he was soon 'discovered' by men of the calibre of Max Müller, whose Oriental library he catalogued, of Professor Sayce, who became his lifelong friend, of Professor Legge, under whom he studied Chinese, and of the learned Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian, Dr. Adolf Neubauer. It was by Neubauer's advice that Strong later went to Paris, where his cordial reception by Ernest Renan, James Darmesteter, and other famous scholars is almost a matter of history in learned circles. He studied under Renan, became a devoted and favourite pupil, and soon received the high honour—rarely accorded to the French followers of the illustrious *savant*—of successive invitations to Renan's Breton home. In such surroundings he soon forgot early discouragement, and he returned to England about 1890, an accomplished scholar of rising reputation. For a time he devoted himself to Pali, one of his first undertakings being the publication of an *editio princeps* of the Mahā Bodhi Vamsa. This account of the famous Tree of Wisdom, written in the fifth century in a curious and difficult form of Pali, is full of interest, both historical and philological. It was published by the Pali Text Society in 1891 and was dedicated to Renan. Then he took to the study of Assyrian, and quickly became a high authority on the language and the archaeological remains of ancient Mesopotamia. He next specialised in Arabic—in which language he published extensively—and in Persian, studied Egyptian hieroglyphics, kept up Chinese with his friend Terrien de Lacouperie, and became proficient in Hebrew. The facility with which he mastered one difficult Oriental language after another was a wonder to those best able to judge of the thoroughness and ability of his work. His mental powers were rather those of a critical scholar than of a linguist; and it is a sane and sober judgment which is the chief characteristic of his Oriental work. Meantime he had applied, on the death of Robertson Smith in 1894, for the Professorship of Arabic in Cambridge, but was again unfortunate. The question of ways and means now pressed heavily upon him; for in England, unless a

man holds one of the few available posts in the Universities, the Museum, or the India Office, he cannot 'live of the doctrine' as an Orientalist. For some years Arthur Strong had to face grave difficulties; then the tide of his fortunes suddenly turned. Friends introduced him to Lord Justice Bowen and Lord Acton, and both these eminent men were greatly struck with his profound and varied learning, his keen intelligence, and his power of work. Mr. Gladstone, too, was much impressed by his conversation. Presently the Duke of Devonshire wanted a librarian for Chatsworth to succeed Sir James Lacaita, and Arthur Strong was appointed on the recommendation mainly of his friend Mr. Sidney Colvin. The same year he obtained the long coveted Academic recognition, and he was elected Professor of Arabic in University College, London. But it was at Chatsworth and Devonshire House that he was to obtain scope for that almost encyclopedic knowledge which so far had been little more than guessed at by those outside his immediate intimacy. He set to work to study, and to make known in a more scientific way than had been done hitherto, the celebrated ducal treasures. Among the art collections he was able to return to a cherished pursuit. A pupil of Albert Varley, he had early turned to the critical study of art, bringing to it the equipment of technical knowledge. He had commenced his contributions to the subject at the age of 15 by a paper on the little known Venetian artist *Jacopello del Fiore*, and continued them in a long series of articles, contributed to various 'weeklies,' which it is hoped may be collected one day into a volume. In 1901 he published a book on the Duke of Devonshire's pictures, while from the celebrated Chatsworth collection of drawings by the old masters he only last year issued a beautiful volume of selections with a critical introduction. Nor did he limit himself to Italian and modern art; the superb bronze head of Apollo in the Library at Chatsworth, which had been ignored as of the 'debased' or 'Roman' epoch, he recognized to be a masterpiece of the transitional period of Greek art, a conjecture afterwards confirmed and expanded by Professor

Furtwängler, who published the head as a true Greek work of priceless merit, from the first half of the fifth century B.C. It will be remembered as having been one of the chief centres of attraction at the exhibition of Greek art held last Summer at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, chiefly organized by Mrs. Strong. In 1897 Strong had married Miss Eugénie Sellers, herself a Greek archæologist of distinction.

Meantime he had been invited by the Duke of Portland to reorganize the great library at Welbeck. Other owners of fine collections, especially of drawings, asked for his help; and of the Wilton drawings he published a selection, with critical notes. He had a keen eye, great accuracy of observation, a marvellous memory, and a knowledge of all that the best critics had written; so that his own critical writings on art have great merit, the more remarkable since they came as an epilogue to other work. For he never forgot his old studies; he retained his post at University College, and the more modest one of Reader in Assyrian at Cambridge; if unable to produce as much in the Oriental field as he could have wished, he had the satisfaction of aiding by his newly acquired influence the work of others; thus for the publication of the three great volumes of "Assyrian Deeds and Documents" by his friend and pupil C. W. Johns he obtained an important subvention from the Duke of Devonshire and the Duke of Portland, an instance of enlightened patronage which was gracefully acknowledged by the author in the dedications of his several volumes. Arthur Strong's varied intellectual pursuits had now to be carried on together with his practical duties as Librarian to the House of Lords, to which post he was appointed in 1897, chiefly through the Duke of Devonshire's influence. His work in his new capacity was fruitful, and his great stores of knowledge were of much use to those peers who use the library, and to Royal and other Commissions engaged upon work for which research is needed. Himself an ardent politician and historian, he became a frequent writer on historical questions. Early

in 1903, when he was already ailing, he wrote as an Introduction to the selection he had been at work upon for years from the archives of the Duke of Portland what will probably be considered his most brilliant literary effort. He has left a similar annotated selection from the archives of Devonshire House about half completed, while an article on Warren Hastings which he wrote last Summer for the *North American Review* during his seeming convalescence still has to appear. There were few subjects on which he did not know a great deal; and what he did not know he knew how to learn. Indeed, the vastness of his erudition and the variety of subjects to which he was able to apply his judgment are evidence of what it would be not at all excessive to designate as genius.

We have dwelt upon his gifts as manifested in his published work, but those who were admitted to his intimacy knew also that he was a considerable mathematician and classical scholar, a keen entomologist, and a musical critic of the first order; above all, they knew him for a staunch and devoted friend, untiring in the double service of science and of friendship, inflexible in his standards of right and wrong, intolerant only of cant and pretension. Nor would any account of Strong be adequate that left unnoticed the singular originality of his mind, the charm and wit of his conversation. Last Spring he fell ill; overwork at last told upon his spare and anæmic frame; he had to leave London, and, though he seemed at one time to be recovering, he has died at an age when most men are beginning their careers. He will be greatly missed; for such gifts as his are extremely rare, even taken singly, while it is not likely that in our time they will ever be found again in combination. At the time of his death he was engaged in editing, for the Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, Ibn Arabshāh's poem in Arabic on the life of Jakmak, Sultan of Egypt. About one-third of the work was in print, and the Society hopes to be able to complete and publish it. It is pathetic to note that the last time he went out was on

December 23rd in order to bring the corrected proofs of this text to the Secretary of the Society. He was then apparently well on the way to complete recovery, but the next day the relapse occurred which was to end fatally in less than a month. Could he have made the choice consciously he would have liked thus to give his final effort to those Eastern studies which had remained the master passion of his maturity, as they had been the inspiration of his youth.

He has also left in preparation the translation with notes of a long Assyrian text as well as of some Egyptian inscriptions which he discovered at Chatsworth.

[Adapted from *The Times* of January 19th, 1904.]

The following is a fairly, if not quite, complete bibliography of Arthur Strong's original contributions to Orientalism :—

1890.

- | | |
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| (1) "Votive Inscription of Assurnatsirpal." | } Records of the
Past, n.s.,
vol. iv, 1890. |
| (2) "Inscription of Rimmon-nivari III." | |
| (3) "Three Votive Inscriptions of Assurnatsirpal." | |

1891.

- (4) "The Nimrod Inscription of Tiglath Pileser III" : Records of the Past, n.s., vol. v, 1891.
- (5) "The Maha-Bodhi-Vamsa" : Pali Text Society.
- (6) "Two Edicts of Assurbanipal" : Journal of R.A.S., 1891.

1892.

- (7) "Inscription of Assur-Bêl-Kala" : Records of the Past, n.s., vol. vi, 1892.
- (8) "Prayer of Assurbanipal" : Records of the Past, n.s., vol. vi, 1892.
- (9) "Three Cuneiform Texts" : Babylonian and Oriental Record, July, 1892.
- (10) "Four Cuneiform Texts" : J.R.A.S., 1892.

1893.

- (11) "On some Oracles to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal" : Beiträge zur Assyriologie, ii, 1893.
- (12) "Un texte inédit d'Assurbanipal" : Journal Asiatique, 1893.
- (13) "A Letter to Assurbanipal" : Hebraica, vol. iv, 1893.

1894.

- (14) "The Futih al-Habashah, or The Conquest of Abyssinia":
Monograph, Williams & Norgate, 1894.
- (15) "Note on a Fragment of the Adapa Legend": Proceedings
of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. xvi, 1894.

1895.

- (16) "Additional Note on the Adapa Legend": Proceedings of the
Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. xvii, 1895.
- (17) "Some Assyrian Alliterative Texts": *ibid.*
- (18) "A History of Kilwa": J.R.A.S., 1895.

1898.

- (19) "A Hymn of Nebuchadnezzar": Proceedings of the Society
of Biblical Archæology, 1898.

1903.

- (20) "Arabic Text of Ibn Arabshah's History of Jakmak, Sultan
of Egypt": to be published shortly by the R.A.S.
- (21, 22) A long Assyrian Text and an Egyptian Inscription have
been left in an advanced state of preparation.

III. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the Northbrook Club.

- De Sacy (A. J. Silvestre). Chrestomathie Arabe. Two
vols. Paris, 1806.
- Campbell (G.). India as it may be. London, 1853.
- Hafiz Shirazi. Sharh-i-Diwan. Urdu commentary by
Moulvi Karim al-Din. Lahore, 1874.
- Buckley (R. B.). The Irrigation Works of India and
their Financial Results. London, 1880.
- Lethbridge (R.). Higher Education in India. London, 1882.

Presented by the Author.

- Drake (J.). Grammar of the Kûrkû Language. 8vo.
Calcutta, 1903.

Purchased.

Takakusu (J.). A Pāli Chrestomathy. 8vo. *Tokyo*, 1900.

Presented by the India Office.

Love (Lieut.-Colonel H. D.). Descriptive List of Pictures
in Government House and the Banqueting Hall,
Madras. 4to. *Madras*, 1903.

From the Publishers.

Chirol (V.). The Middle Eastern Question, or some
Political Problems of Indian Defence. 8vo.

London, 1903.

Smith (W. Robertson). Kinship and Marriage in Early
Arabia. New edition with notes by the author and
Professor J. Goldziher, edited by S. A. Cook. 8vo.

London, 1903.

Cook (S. A.). The Laws of Moses and the Code of
Hammurabi. 8vo.

London, 1903.

Irvine (W.). The Army of the Indian Moghuls. 8vo.

London, 1903.

Kamal ad-Din of Isfahan. The Hundred Love Songs,
now first translated from the Persian by L. H. Gray,
and done into English verse by Ethel W. Mumford.

Browne (E. G.). The Lubābu'l-'Albāb (second part) of
Muḥammad Awfi. 8vo. (Persian Historical Texts,
vol. ii.)

London, 1903.

Nielsen (D.). Die altarabische Mondreligion und die
mosaische Ueberlieferung. 8vo. *Strassburg*, 1904.



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<i>N.W.P., India.</i> |
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<i>Square, W.</i> |
| 1903 | *AIYANGAR, S. Krishna Swami Chamarajapet, <i>Bangalore,</i>
<i>India.</i> |
| 10 1903 | *AIYAR, S. Parameswara, <i>Assistant to Superintendent of</i>
<i>Ethnographic Survey, Travancore, S. India.</i> |
| 1874 | *AKAMATZU RENJO, Rev., <i>Nishi Hongwanji, Kioto,</i>
<i>Japan.</i> |
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